

THE PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY
OF TRADE UNION MP's, 1959-1964

By
WILLIAM DALE MULLER

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

August, 1966



UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 08642 715 9

To the memory of

John C. Muller (1900-1965)

and

Dorothea M. Muller (1901-1964)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is impossible to individually acknowledge all of the debts incurred in the preparation of this study, but a few are of special importance. Two men in particular stand behind this study. The first is Roy P. Fairfield of the Antioch-Putney Graduate School of Education who provided the initial inspiration to do graduate work. The second is Arnold J. Heidenheimer of the University of Florida whose constant prodding and criticism gave to this study whatever merit it might have.

The "Introduction" was greatly improved by the criticism of John R. Todd of Central Florida Junior College.

The material contained in the body of the study was made possible by the co-operation of many people in the British Labor movement. In particular, my thanks go to the Rt. Honorable Richard Marsh, M. P., the Rt. Honorable Charles Pannell, M. P., and the Rt. Honorable Charles Loughlin, M. P., who proved especially helpful during my stay in England. The other Labor Members of Parliament, Labor Party officials, and trade union officials who helped are too numerous to mention. The majority of them are identified in the Bibliography.

This study also owes a great deal to the staffs of the University of Florida Library, especially Mr. Ray Jones who gave yeoman service in locating many obscure references; of the University of Florida Computer

Center, especially Professor A. E. Brandt who was of very considerable assistance in the preliminary analysis of the data in Chapter VI; and of the libraries of the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Trades Union Congress, and the Labor Party.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION: A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL OF LEGISLATIVE INTEREST REPRESENTA- TION	1
Chapter	
I. EARLY TRADE UNION PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE ELECTORAL AND LEGISLATIVE PHASE OF INTEREST REPRESENTATION	16
The Trade Union General Secretaries	
The Reception of Union Leaders in the House of Commons	
The Activity of Union Leaders in the House of Commons	
II. CHANGING PATTERNS IN PERSONNEL RECRUIT- MENT AND PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCE OF TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIA- MENT	60
The Passing of the General Secretaries	
The New Members of Parliament	
The Sponsored Members and the House of Commons: The Parliamentary Labor Party	
The Technicians and White Collar Unions	

III.	UNION-MEMBER RELATIONS: THE PROBLEMS OF MANY MASTERS	109
	Political Recruitment of Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament The "Kept Men" Parliamentary Privilege Channels of Communication Between Members of Parliament and Their Union Headquarters The Problem of Role Confusion	
IV.	UNION-MEMBER RELATIONS AND THE DEFENCE DISPUTE OF 1960-1961	154
	The Issue of an Independent Deterrent The Unions and the 1960 Party Conference Gaitskell and the Parliamentary Labor Party: Support, Disposition and Revolt Attempts of Sponsored Members of Parliament to Influence the Unions Role Confusion and the Sponsored Members of Parliament	
V.	TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY, 1959-1964. .	198
	The Trade Union Group The Trade Union Group and Parliament Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament and the Leadership of the Parliamentary Labor Party Extra-Parliamentary Leadership of the Labor Party	
VI.	THE TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1959-1964	236
	Legislative Specialization Legislative Behavior and Personal Background	
	SUMMARY	288
	APPENDICES	295
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	327

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Phases of Union Parliamentary Representation	12
2	Trade Union Supported Members of Parliament and Union General Secretaries (1874-1910)	25
3	Trade Union Affiliation to the Labour Representation Committee, 1900-1906	47
4	Labor Party Growth, 1900-1964	62
5	Union Representation in Parliament, 1918-1964	102
6	Proportion Trade Union Candidates Actually Elected	126
7	Direct Union Financial Assistance to Sponsored Members of Parliament	129
8	Union Position at 1960 Party Conference	163
9	Trade Union Sponsored Members Who Did Not Vote in Division 22	169
10	Position of Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament in Division 22 in Relation to Union Votes at the 1960 and 1961 Labor Party Conferences	173
11	Members of Parliament Agreement or Disagreement with Sponsoring Union	175
12	Relation of Union Region Position at Miners' Union Conference and Division 22 Vote of Members Sponsored by the Miners' Union - I	176
13	Relation of Union Region Position at Miners' Union Conference and Division 22 Vote of Members Sponsored by the Miners' Union - II	177

Table		Page
14	Unions and Potential Influence	179
15	Officer and Executive Committee of the Trade Union Group by Session	203
16	Trade Unionists on the Parliamentary Committee, 1959-1964	219
17	Trade Unionists with Shadow Cabinet Responsibility, 1959-1964	222
18	Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament Serving on the National Executive Committee, 1959-1964	229
19	Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament Elected in October, 1959, Who First Entered the House of Commons prior to their Fortieth Birthday	233
20	Military Questions by Group, 1962-1963	239
21	Foreign Affairs Questions by Group, 1962-1963	244
22	Industrial Questions by Group, 1962-1963	249
23	Question Specialization by Miners, 1962-1963	256
24	Question Specialization by Railwaymen, 1962-1963	262
25	Legislative Behavior by Group Means	266
26	Background Differences	271
27	Correlation of Legislative Behavior and Age by Group	276
28	The Relation Between Age and Legislative Behavior for Each Group of Labor Members of Parliament	278
29	Correlation of Legislative Behavior and Education (B) by Group	280
30	The Relation Between Education and Legislative Behavior for Each Group of Labor Members of Parliament	282

Table		Page
31	The Relation Between Age and Education of Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament	283
32	The Relation Between Age and Education on Behavior of Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament	284
33	Sample Composition by Party	319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1	Union General Secretaries in Parliament, 1874-1910	19
2	Miners in the House of Commons, 1874-1964	106
3	Distribution According to Age of the Members of Each Group of Members of Parliament	272
4	Distribution According to Educational Level of the Members of Each Group of Members of Parliament	274

INTRODUCTION

A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL OF LEGISLATIVE INTEREST REPRESENTATION

In a recent study, Samuel H. Beer has written, "In any theory of representation, some answer is given to the questions: 'How is the community as a whole to be represented?' 'Who or what is to represent the common good or public interest, as compared with the more particular interests of the component parts?'"¹ The theoretical answers given to these questions are determined by and are major determinants of the types of representational behavior found in any given political system. On the one hand, the theory may stress the importance of the entire community, the public interest, or general will. More usually, even when speaking of the public interest, the theory tends to legitimize the particular interests of selected parts of the community.² Such theories generally do not emphasize the legitimacy of the same particular interests at all times.

¹Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 6.

²See Glendon Schubert, The Public Interest (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960).

Changes in the political system or its environment will usually produce changes in the conventional political theory of the system which, in turn, may contribute to further changes in the system.³

In finding or securing an accepted position in the representational theory and practice of a political system, particular interests with some degree of mass support may be thought of as passing through several phases of access to the system's decision-making processes or machinery.⁴ When first articulated, a particular interest is relatively disorganized and lacks recognitions in either the representational theory or practice of the system. Lacking any significant degree of social or political legitimacy, the interest in this first phase is forced to resort to varieties of anomic behavior to secure attention or redress for its demands. Since the new group is demanding some sort of reallocation of resources within the system, its acceptance is opposed by those groups which already have access. Rioting or other forms of violence are among the more extreme forms of anomic activity. A more moderate form of such activity might take the form of mass petitioning of the legal authorities for redress of grievances. Examples of such anomic activity are not

³Beer, et. passim.

⁴This model or theory is based on a number of empirical studies of pressure groups in the United Kingdom. In addition, two surveys of the activity of British interest groups were especially helpful. They were Allen Potter, Organized Groups in British National Politics (London: Faber and Faber, 1961); and J. D. Stewart, British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

difficult to find. Mid-twentieth century America witnessed spontaneous actions such as the first sit-ins which form part of the Civil Rights movement which is sweeping the entire nation. In England, certain aspects of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament provide another contemporary example.

Within an Anglo-American political system, anomic activity is seldom an end in itself. If the articulated interest is able to organize and create some sort of permanent organization, it may be said to have entered the second phase of interest articulation. It still lacks access to the decision-making centers, but its existence as an organized group within the broader social system is not seriously threatened. The permanent organization thus created functions as the center of future interest articulation.

In this second or organizing stage of interest articulation, the demands of the group may be given a somewhat more rational and coherent shape. To the extent that they bear on the political system, such interests may find expression in demands for access to the political system and its decision-making centers. The techniques used to articulate these demands may often resemble anomic activity but they are far more rationally planned and organized rather than being the result of more or less spontaneous action by the parties concerned. Rioting, for example, may be the result of spontaneous action by the groups involved, or it may take the form of demonstrations, the result of deliberate planning and organization by the groups

which are created to articulate the interests involved. While the anomic activity was lacking in any coherent aim, demonstrations may be used by organized groups to demand access to the centers of decision-making power in the political system during the second phase of interest articulation. If these demands are met, we may be said to have entered the third or electoral and parliamentary phase of interest articulation.

In this third phase of interest articulation, the group has secured a degree of access to the decision-making machinery of the political system. While not having complete access, the interest has secured the right to articulate its demands and it at least shares in the processes by which policy decisions are ratified and made legitimate within the system. The extension of the suffrage to new groups in the Anglo-American political systems provide one example of this sort of interest representation. This was particularly true in the nineteenth century as the suffrage was gradually expanded to include most major groups within society. Parliamentary representation and lobbying are also two common forms of activity in this third stage of interest articulation within these political systems. If lobbying seems to be somewhat more important in the American system with its fractured party system, it is probably replaced by parliamentary spokesmen in the British system where a strong and disciplined party system serves to insulate the legislators from the lobbyists. Such differences, however, are marginal to the overall picture of limited access which we are trying to suggest.

There is no inherent reason why a group must move from the organizational phase of interest articulation to this phase. Some groups may never make the transition. Likewise, there is no inherent reason why a group should find itself even more closely integrated into the system's decision-making processes. But if the group does secure some concessions from its parliamentary activity in the form of favorable legislation, it may find itself increasingly concerned with administration of the legislation, the rules and regulations which are issued under it, and changes in its formal outlines. The group finds itself being consulted about legislative action even before such alteration in the status quo are actually made public. This close and intimate contact with the administrative authorities may be viewed as the fourth or consultative phase of interest articulation.⁵

As an interest group moves from one phase of articulation to another, the techniques of articulation change. Behavior useful in drawing attention to the interest in the anomic phase is less useful after it has organized itself or actually secured some voice in the decision-making process of the political system. But this change in behavior is usually more of a change in emphasis, and the older

⁵A story which appeared shortly after the 1964 General Election in the United Kingdom should remind us that access is not the same as influence. According to the story, "The old civil servant watched the new Minister studying a file. 'I think I ought to warn you, Sir,' he said, 'that we don't take that organization very seriously.' 'I think I ought to warn you,' said the Minister amiably, 'that I am a member of this organization.'" The Times (London)(November 30, 1964), p. 6. Cf. PEP, Advisory Committees in British Government (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 43.

techniques may continue on a considerably reduced basis. Thus, legislative representation useful in the third phase might continue when a group enters the fourth phase as a device for insuring that the consultations will continue. Older techniques might also be continued simply because of the lack of any real opposition to them.

As an interest acquires additional confidence and security in its consultative status, it enters a fifth or symbolic phase of interest articulation. If parliamentary representation is continued, its major function changes. Specific representation of the interest gives way to diffuse representation. Increasingly, the supporting interest group no longer expects the representatives, in practice, to work closely with the interest. The legislative representatives become symbols or outward and visible signs of the less observable processes of consultation.

The pattern of legislative behavior expected in the third, fourth, and fifth phases do not remain constant. The long-term decline of the interests' insistence that the legislative representatives act specifically on behalf of the interests means that the representatives are able to adopt other legislative roles or patterns of behavior. It is possible to briefly outline a number of different roles which a Member might fill.⁶

⁶For a discussion of legislative roles, see J. C. Wahlke, et. al., The Legislative System (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 11-17, 465-470. Cf. "All MPs do not share the same conception of their role in Parliament, or their role in relation to ministers, to pressure groups, and to their constituents. There are several dozen combination of roles for MPs to choose from." Richard Rose, Politics in England (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964), p. 93.

The roles outlined in the following pages by no means exhaust the number of roles which a legislator might play. The six roles used here were chosen mainly for their utility in this study.

One of these possible roles centered on the constituency which elects the Member. Their constituents expect a Member of Parliament to devote a certain amount of his attention to their problems. A second parliamentary role is that of interest representative. In filling this role, the Member seeks to promote the advantage of the particular interest group with which he is associated. A third role is that of class representative. The Member is expected to promote the interests of the class to which he belongs or is associated. While usually associated with the working class, this role is not exclusively theirs and other classes might have similar expectations.

A fourth role which the representative might be expected to fill is outlined by the liberal ideology of the nineteenth century. Rather than looking after the interests of various sections of the community, they are expected to use their own conscience as a guide in seeking the national interest or public good. Still a fifth role which demands some attention from a Member of Parliament is that of the partisan or party adherent who allows Party considerations to determine the nature of his legislative activity. A sixth role which should be mentioned is that based on the expectations of a Member's fellow legislators. Here the Member of Parliament is expected to carry his share of the burdens of legislative work.

The concept of role which we are using here refers to a learned pattern of behavior whose limits are defined by the subject's reference group. That is to say, the Member's role in the House of Commons is defined by the expectations of the group or groups with which he identifies.⁷ Each group or clientele referred to in the above paragraphs: constituency, interest group, class, nation, party, and the House of Commons, holds certain expectations regarding the behavior of Members of Parliament. The expectations of a specific group become important to the extent that they are perceived by the Member himself and allowed to influence his behavior. In a historical situation, of course, it is not always possible to be certain that an individual was aware of a group's expectations, but we can sometimes infer such awareness from his behavior.

The clientele or groups to which we referred above may not be completely independent of each other. Thus, five of them would be, in effect, sub-groups of the nation or community as a whole. At the same time, constituency, interest group, class, party, and Parliament are both interrelated and autonomous. Since each of these groups has its

⁷ For a more technical definition of "role" as it is being used here, see A. Paul Hare, Handbook of Small Group Research (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 101-125.

An alternative conceptualization of "role" which places more emphasis on the actual behavior of the actor is found in T. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954), I, 224.

⁸ Wahlke, et al., p. 9; Rose, p. 93.

own set of expectations regarding the proper behavior of the Member of Parliament, there is always the possibility that the expectations held by one group might be in conflict with the expectations held by another group. There is, of course, no inherent reason why the expectations of different groups must conflict. The situation in which an actor finds himself confronted by conflicting expectations by different groups or the same group to which he belongs has been termed "role confusion."⁹ The confusion results from the conflicting or inconsistent expectations held by the groups. To the extent that the actor is unaware of such inconsistencies or conflict, role confusion would be of no interest. Again, in a historical situation, we must base any discussion of an individual's role confusion not on the solid evidence which might be provided by personal interviews, but rather on inferences drawn from the conflicting expectations of the individual's multiple reference groups. Such inferences can be supported by occasional personal statements, but they cannot be taken to definitely prove the existence of role confusion in the individual.

The ability of a given legislative representative to fill any or all of these roles is related to the representative's social and political background.¹⁰ Social characteristics such as class, occupation, age, education, and sex might contribute to the Member's ability to fill these

⁹Hare, p. 120.

¹⁰Cf. Donald S. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision Makers (New York: Random House, 1955).

roles. The degree to which the Member is integrated into or linked with the various clienteles would also be a factor influencing the Member's response to group expectations. Political characteristic which might influence or condition a Member's role-playing include experience in local government, electoral majority, or parliamentary seniority.

An example of this developmental model and accompanying legislative role behavior is supplied by the British labor and trade union movements. The working classes brought into existence by the industrial revolution usually lacked any effective voice either economically or politically. Attempts to organize the workers in the early nineteenth century were not very effective and frequently illegal. Gradually, in the middle part of the century, the working classes were able to organize more trade unions sometimes disguised as Friendly Societies or insurance groups. The unions, while organized mainly for economic reasons, provided a convenient agency for the articulation of the political demands of the working classes. While the working classes did not share in the suffrage reform of 1832, they were able to secure the vote in 1867.

The use of the union's industrial opponents of the House of Commons as a tool for furthering their class interests led to a demand in the unions in the latter nineteenth century for union representation in Parliament. This same demand underlay the willingness of the trade union to support the Labor Party in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The access to the decision-making centers of

the political system provided by parliamentary representation in the years 1874 until 1920 was supplemented after World War I by the start of direct consultation between the unions and the Government. This consultative status was expanded during and after World War II. The successive phases of this model as applied to the British Labor Movement are shown in the following table. Of particular concern for the remainder of the study are the last three phases and the type of legislative representation found therein.

In both the third, fourth, and fifth phases of interest articulation and access, the individual trade unions maintained or supported a number of parliamentary representatives. Starting in the third phase of the model, these representatives were sent into the House of Commons in order to speak and act for their unions. But once in the House, they found themselves under increasing pressure to respond to some of the other clientele to which we have already referred.

In the third phase of interest articulation, the unions were quite concerned with the substantive contribution which the Members of Parliament supported by the unions might make to the unions' welfare. To insure this, they saw to it that first rank union leaders were prominent among the Members of Parliament supported by the trade unions. The unions were prepared to go farther to insure that the Members of Parliament acted in accordance with the unions' expectations rather than any of their other clientele through the use of the unions' ability to withdraw support from the Members of Parliament. If such conflicts were

TABLE I
PHASES OF UNION
PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

STAGE OF INTEREST REPRESENTATION	TIME	UNION OBJECTIVES	TYPE OF UNION REPRESENTATIVE	UNION REPRESENTATIVE LINKAGE	PARLIAMENTARY ROLES OF UNION SUPPORTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	UNION EXPECTATION OF PARLIAMENTARY ROLES	RATIONALE OF UNION REPRESENTATION
Anomic	Early Nineteenth Century	Right to Organize					
Organization	Middle Nineteenth Century	Legal protection of union organization; suffrage; industrial benefits	No direct representation save for some friendly middle class radicals	None or Informal			
Electoral and Parliamentary	1867 to 1920's	Legal protection of union organization; political reform of industrial conditions	Union Leaders; Formal and informal alliance with some middle class representatives in liberal and labor parties	Personal; Union leaders often sat in House of Commons	Role Confusion; Resulting from diverse clientele; union; party; class; nation; constituency; parliament	Representation of Union's Industrial Interests. Little awareness of possible conflict between cause of personal union-member link	Utility, Honor, and Symbol of Acceptance
Consultative	World War I to World War II	Political reform in industrial sphere;	Secondary Union leaders; rank and file union members	Formal	Role Confusion: (but decreasing emphasis on union clientele)	Expectation of utility of parliamentary representation	Tradition or Consolation Prize
Symbolic	Since World War II	Insurance against loss of consultative position; aid to party	Decline of industrial unions after World War II - New sponsored Members lacking in industrial experience	Formal Decaying after World War II	Decline of role confusion based on union expectations	Eventual decline of union expectation of member agreement with union. Increase in expectation of Member's support of party.	Union prestige, Symbol of Consultation, Service to Party, and Tradition

infrequent, it must be partly credited to the fact that the Members of Parliament who were also union leaders were hardly likely to find themselves out of step with their sponsoring organizations.

The unions entered the fourth phase of interest representation about the time of World War I and the 1920's. They gradually ceased sending top union personnel into the House of Commons. In their stead, more and more rank and file union members or low ranking union officials were found. Since the fourth phase is one of transition during which the unions were adjusting to their increasing status as consultants to the government while not completely giving up the expectation of substantive service from their sponsored Members of Parliament, the occasion for conflict between the unions and their sponsored Members increased. The unions were willing to take action against Members who disagreed with the unions. Such action might include the loss of financial support.

Gradually, the trade unions acquired greater confidence in their consultative status, and parliamentary representation took on a more and more symbolic function for them in the years after World War II. Channels of communication between unions and their sponsored Members were allowed to fall into decay, and the Members of Parliament were increasingly responsive to the expectation of other clienteles (especially party). This was accompanied by an increasing acceptance by the trade union leaders of norms calling for Members of Parliament to be more responsive to other groups such as party. Conflict between union and sponsored Member thus decreased.

Despite the decline in active union use of and dependence on their parliamentary representatives, in the symbolic phase, the union supported Members of Parliament are not free to ignore their union association. Like other Members, they bring with them to the Palace of Westminster a set of background experiences and skills which greatly influence their contribution to the life of Parliament. Even without the active prod of their unions, they would be drawn toward industrial subjects as a result of their occupational careers. Likewise, the nature of their educational background and age of recruitment into Parliament might be expected to exert some influence on their legislative behavior.

To further illustrate the developmental model of interest representation and accompanying legislative roles suggested above, we have undertaken in the following pages an extended study of the political activities of the British trade union movement with regard to their support over the past century of Members of Parliament. We have been especially concerned to show some of the conflicts which have resulted from the different role perceptions held by these Members and the impact of their social and political background on their contribution to parliamentary activity.

In Chapters I and II we deal with changing patterns of personal recruitment and parliamentary performance by the trade union supported Members of Parliament. Chapter I might be thought to deal mainly with the third phase of interest representation, while Chapter II covers the fourth phase. In these chapters we are concerned with the types of representatives selected by the unions to be sent into Parliament and what these representatives did after they arrived there. In Chapters III

and IV we are concerned with union-Member relations in the fifth phase of interest representation. Chapter III gives specific attention to the nature of contemporary links between unions and Members. Chapter IV then devotes attention to how these links work in an analysis of the defence dispute of 1960-1961. The analysis is especially useful in showing the differences in attitude still held within the unions with regard to the proper role of the union supported Members of Parliament.

In Chapters V and VI, we turn our attention to an examination of the contribution of the trade union supported representative to the 1959-1964 House of Commons. In Chapter V this includes an analysis of the activities of the Trade Union Group and the place of the trade union representatives in the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Finally, in Chapter VI, we focus on the substantive contribution of the trade union sponsored Members to Debate and to the Question Hour; and we have undertaken a modest statistical analysis of the impact of certain aspects of the trade union sponsored Members' social and political background on their participation in Debate, the Question Hour and the Standing Committees of the House of Commons. Through the use of samples of Conservative and non-trade union sponsored Labor Members, we have tried to make a comparative study of the impact of age, seniority, education, and majority on these forms of parliamentary activity.

CHAPTER I

EARLY TRADE UNION PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE ELECTORAL AND LEGISLATIVE PHASE OF INTEREST REPRESENTATION

THE TRADE UNION GENERAL SECRETARIES

Joint Industrial and Political Leadership

The British trade union movement entered the third or electoral and legislative phase of interest representation in the 1860's and 1870's. If a specific date must be assigned, it would be either the passage of the Reform Act of 1867 which opened the suffrage to a part of the working class or the election of Thomas Burt and Alexander MacDonald, both miners, to the House of Commons in 1874. It was the election of these two men that began the long series of trade union supported or sponsored Members of Parliament to serve in the British House of Commons.

Defining an early trade union supported Member of Parliament as a Labor (or Liberal-Labor) Member with known trade union links, there seems to have been about 60 known trade unionists among the

81 Labor Members who served between 1874 and 1910.¹ As an actual estimate of direct trade union representation, even this figure of 60 is likely to be a bit high. Included in it are Labor pioneers such as James Keir Hardie whose connection with the trade unions during his political career is tenuous at best.² The exclusion of such individuals would merely strengthen the conclusions which are derived from our discussion of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament.

Of the 60 early Labor Members with identifiable trade union links, over half had held union offices at one time or another. Nineteen had served as the General Secretary or chief executive officer of their unions with the responsibility of guiding their organizations through the

¹For a comprehensive discussion of the difficulties in identifying the early trade union Members of Parliament, see H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 51-52, 283-285. The definition of a trade union Member of Parliament being used in this study is somewhat narrower than that proposed by Clegg and his colleagues. They would include the nature of a legislator's activity as well as the characteristics we have used.

The trade union supported Members of Parliament who constitute the basis for the following discussion were taken from the lists of early Labor Members found in: G. D. H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914 (London: Routledge, 1941), pp. 255-301, Appendix I; and A. W. Humphrey, A History of Labour Representation (London: Constable, 1913), pp. 192-195, Appendix III. A list of these early Labor Members and the trade unions which some of them had links with is given in Appendix I.

²Hardie was the Agent for the Lanarkshire Miners' (1879-1881); Secretary, Ayshire Miners' Union (1886-1890); and Secretary, Scottish Miners' Federation (1886-1887). All of this took place prior to his first election to Parliament in 1893. Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 100n. The only election in which Hardie had the direct and official support of the miners was in 1890 when he stood unsuccessfully for election to Parliament. Had he been elected then, the Ayshire Miners had agreed

rather difficult times of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The General Secretaries were sent into the House of Commons to fulfill one of the major justifications for direct parliamentary representation for organized labor, i. e. , to act as spokesmen for their individual unions and for the working class as a whole.³

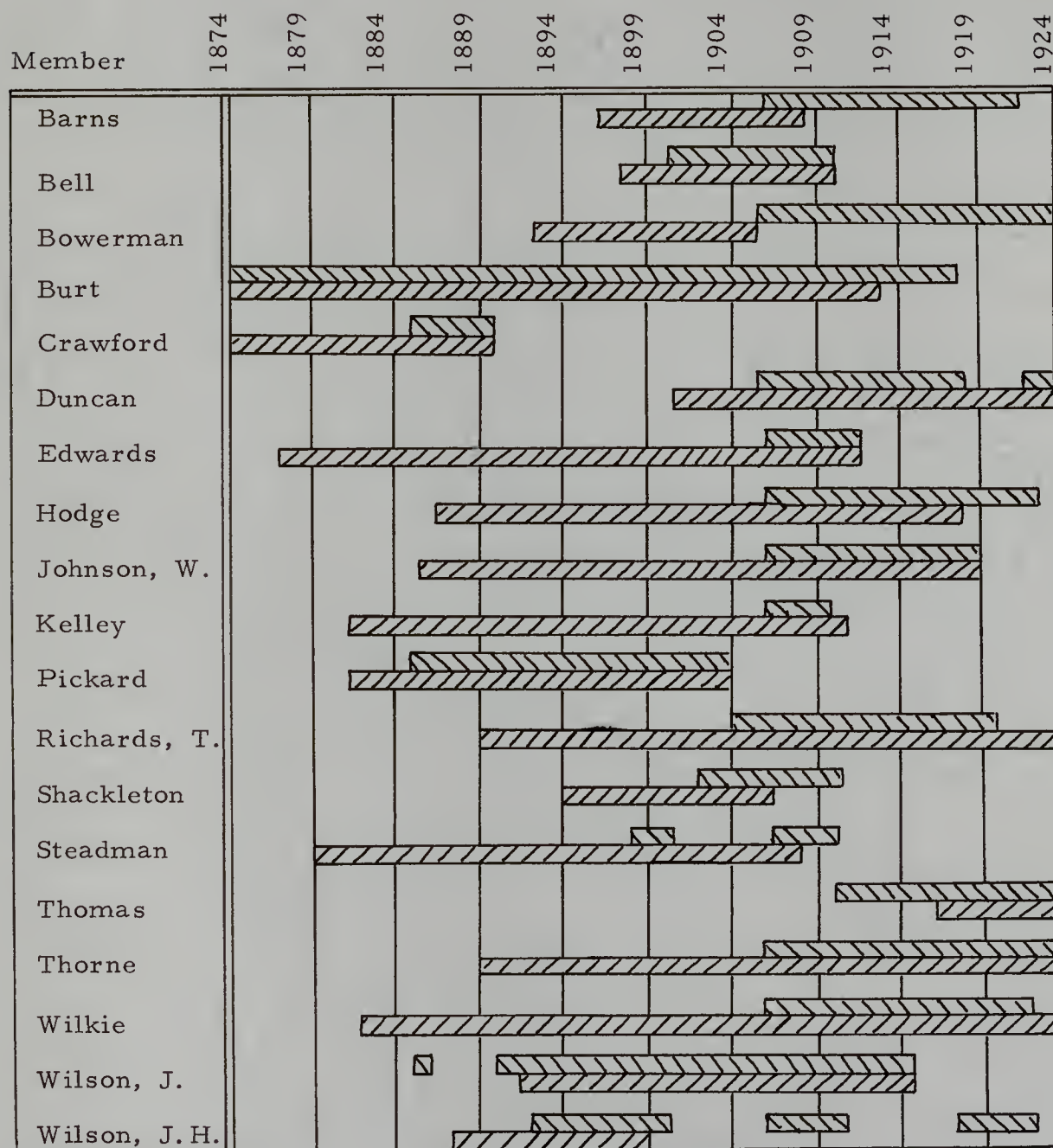
The personal nature of union representation in Parliament and its relation to union positions can be seen by examining the careers of the nineteen General Secretaries who served in the House of Commons. This personal union of political and industrial roles is shown in Figure 1. It is apparent that in most cases, there was a considerable degree of overlapping between the two.

The personal union of the political and industrial leadership suggested above can also be seen in the Trades Union Congress whose executive body between 1869 and 1921 was called the Parliamentary Committee. The Committee usually included a number of Members of Parliament. The high point came in 1906 when there were nine legislators included in the thirteen-member Committee. The complex state of Labor representation is suggested by the fact that six of these representatives were members of the new Parliamentary Labor

to pay him a salary of £200 a year. Between 1890 and 1893, Hardie deliberately severed all connections with the miners so that he would not be bound by vested interests. See David Lowe, From Pit to Parliament (London: The Labour Publishing Company, 1923), pp. 28-35.

³Trades Union Congress, Report (1869), pp. 202-203. Cf. John Hodge, Workman's Cottage to Windsor Castle (London: Sampson Low and Company, 1931), p. 137.

Years of Service in Union and Parliament



Notes

The union affiliation of the above Members of Parliament may be seen in Appendix I.



refers to parliamentary service



refers to union service as General Secretary

Fig. 1. --Union General Secretaries in Parliament, 1874-1910

Party while the other three were Lib-Labs.⁴ The Miners' Federation of Great Britain showed a similar concentration of industrial and political leadership. The Executive of the Federation included the General Secretaries of the regional components of the Federation. These men were frequently Members of Parliament.⁵

Because the early trade union supported Members of Parliament were often leaders of first rank within their unions, they could speak with authority for their organizations and they could help to shape union policy to take advantage of the current political climate reflected in the House of Commons. They were able to reply to attacks on the working classes by other Members, and their partial integration into the existing power structure of British society helped to partially reconcile the working classes to it.

Rational of Parliamentary Representation

Dissatisfaction with the middle class, Radical Members of Parliament who had previously provided some political assistance to the trade unions also contributed to the demand for direct parliamentary representation. The trade union view of these "friends of the workers" was expressed by a delegate to the Trades Union Congress in 1869 when he stated, " . . . these men could not be expected to

⁴Henry Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 127.

⁵R. Page Arnot, A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (Three volumes: London: Allen and Unwin, 1949-1961), Vol. I, p. 369.

understand the wants and advocate the interests of working men so well as men chosen from themselves. Not a single working man had yet been permitted to enter Parliament in the Labour interest."⁶

The serious interest of the trade unions in securing their own representatives is suggested by the fact that they frequently gave financial assistance to the trade union Members elected after 1874. For example, Thomas Burt, the Lib-Lab Member for Morpeth from 1874 until 1918 received two salaries from his union. The first was for his duties as General Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association from 1865 until 1913. The second was for his parliamentary duties. Together, the two salaries totaled about £500 per year.⁷ Since this was before the start of state payment of Members of Parliament, many of the early trade supported Members would have been unable to serve without this assistance. We will have occasion below to discuss some of the ways in which these trade union representatives were actually able to act as spokesmen for their unions and for the working class in the House of Commons.

It would be misleading to assume, however, that interest representation was the only justification for sending union leaders to

⁶Trades Union Congress, Report (1869), p. 200. This view was expressed in a paper by Alfred A. Walton entitled "The Direct Representation Election of Labour in Parliament." Cf. J. E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 488.

⁷Arnot, Vol. I, p. 291. In 1888 this had to be reduced to £400 per year. Aaron Watson, A Great Labour Leader, Being the Life of the Right Honourable Thomas Burt, M. P. (London: Brown, Langham, 1908), p. 156. Cf. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners, p. 809.

Parliament. Election to the House of Commons can also be viewed as a manner in which the unions sought to honor their leaders. Examination of the data presented in Figure 1 will show that in most cases the union leaders were not sent to the House of Commons until after they had been in their union positions for a time. The House of Commons was recognized as one of the best clubs in Europe and how else might the working class in a high deferential society reward their leaders?

On a somewhat lesser scale, this same desire to honor their leaders could be seen in the election of the trade union representatives to local government offices. Early union leaders saw no incompatibility between their union duties and the holding of public offices. They were quite active in seeking election to the local school boards that existed between 1870 and 1902. After the passage of the Local Governments Acts of 1888 and 1894, the trade unionists began to stand for election to other local government bodies.⁸ In some unions there seemed to be a regular progression from office to office until they even occasionally reached the House of Commons.⁹

There was, perhaps, a third factor contributing to the support for early trade union parliamentary representation. The acceptance of working class representatives in the House of Commons

⁸V. L. Allen, "The Ethics of Trade Union Leaders," British Journal of Sociology, VII (1956), 319. The trade union sponsored Members of Parliament still bring a considerable experience in local government to the House of Commons.

⁹Arnot, Vol. I, p. 293.

can be viewed as a symbolic acceptance of the importance of the working class within the nation as a whole.¹⁰ The importance of this symbolic acceptance was occasionally given public recognition. At a meeting following the election of Thomas Burt to the House of Commons in 1874,

Robert Elliott, the poet of the contest, was in the chair, and the speech with which he opened the proceedings is not without historic interest. They had met, he said, to celebrate the return of the first veritable working man to the British House of Commons. They had struck a blow at snobbery and sham respectability. The miners of the North of England--or England generally--had been looked down upon and despised by the other classes of society; but they might depend upon it that in the future they would be looked up to with greater respect.¹¹

The recognition of the symbolic importance of working class representation can also be seen in the comments of Beatrice Webb on the participation of Labor ministers in the World War I coalition:

. . . . The ordinary 'rank and filer' is as muddled-headed as the ordinary Trade Union official. 'We have our men in the Government,' they argue, 'and one of them is in the innermost Cabinet, that must be an advantage to us.' And they are genuinely elated by this fact--they enjoy the vicarious glory of the Labour Cabinet Minister being among the rulers of the earth--a man whom they address by his Christian name and who sits and smokes

¹⁰ Cf. L. G. Seligman, "Elite Recruitment and Political Development," *Journal of Politics*, XXVI (1964), p. 625, citing S. Eisenstadt, "Sociological Aspects of Political Development in Underdeveloped Countries," in S. M. Lipset and N. J. Smelser (eds.), *Sociology* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1961), pp. 608-623.

The importance of this sort of political symbolism is infrequently recognized by most political scientists, but see Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), *passim*.

with them. They cannot see that their representative may be a mere tool in the hands of men who have been hardened oppressors of their class.¹²

All of these reasons played a part in furthering early trade union parliamentary representation. But they were never of sufficient strength to bring about massive working class representation even after the 1880's when Britain achieved almost complete universal male suffrage. As we have shown in Table 2, trade union representation never rose above fifteen Members until 1906, and for most of the period, it was dominated by the General Secretaries.

THE RECEPTION OF UNION LEADERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In concerning ourselves with the parliamentary performance of the early trade union parliamentary representatives, we must first ask how they fitted into the heretofore aristocratic and semi-aristocratic

¹²Margaret I. Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-1924 (London: Longmans, Green, 1952), p. 74. Entry for December 8, 1916. Cf. the reaction of Mr. Jack Lawson's parents to his first Parliamentary speech. 'Father at once expressed his satisfaction that I had been 'telling them off, ' the person who had been 'told' being the government.' Jack Lawson, A Man's Life (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932), p. 264. Cf. " . . . because of what has been labeled the 'halo effect,' having a generally favorable attitude to the particular occupants of the authority roles, a member may be inclined to see the authorities as acting in his interest or on behalf of his demands more frequently than any objective appraisal would reveal." David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 389.

TABLE 2.
TRADE UNION SUPPORTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT
AND UNION GENERAL SECRETARIES
(1874-1910)

Election	1874	1880	1885	1886	1892	1895	1900	1906	1910 - I	1910 - II	1918	1922
Total Trade Union Supported Members of Parliament	2	3	11	10	15	12	10	54	40 + —	42	49	85
Total General Secretaries as Union Supported Members of Parliament	1	1	3	3	4	4	5	13	11	9	?	?
Percentage of General Secretaries among Trade Union Supported Members of Parliament	50%	33%	27%	30%	26%	33%	50%	24%	27%	23%	?	?

atmosphere of the House of Commons.¹³ Most of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament were elected as Liberal-Labor Members, more popularly known as Lib-Labs. Because of their Liberal sympathies and support from Liberal organizations outside of Parliament, it was not too difficult for them to be fitted into the Liberal organization in the House of Commons, and, through it, into the House as a whole.¹⁴ It was not until the election of

¹³The aristocratic nature of the House of Commons is indicated by Taylor when he writes: "Whatever its origin, the spirit of the rules of debate IS aristocratic. They are the rules which a body of educated gentlemen would observe when meeting, say, at a rather formal dinner." Eric Taylor, The House of Commons at Work (Fifth revised edition; London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 87.

And, of course, one of the main differences between the majority of the middle class Members of Parliament and the new trade unionists lay in the nature of their education. The middle class Members frequently were a product of the more exclusive English "public schools" and Oxford and Cambridge. The trade unionists usually lacked such a background and were self-educated. On this point, Irving Howe comments, "The rise of the self-educated proletarian is one of the most remarkable facts in 19th-Century English history. Frequently this new man discovered himself through the trade-union and socialist movements, which brought him a sense of historical mission, an assignment of destiny and role; . . ." Irving Howe, "Hardy as a 'Modern' Novelist," The New Republic (June 26, 1965), p. 19. (A review of a new edition of Thomas Hardy's Jude the Obscure). Cf. Below, pp. 105, 271-275.

¹⁴Ostrogorski described the early trade unionists in the House of Commons as follows: "From 1874 genuine working-men had entered the House, being generally brought in by their respective Trade Unions, those of the miners, for instance and others. In a dozen years there were as many as ten or twelve of them, all returned as professed 'Liberals.' By their intelligence and their character they almost all did credit to the social class to which they belonged and some were even an ornament to the House of Commons. They intervened with zeal and devotion in the discussion of all questions relating to the toiling masses. Classed among the Liberals, they followed them in everything according to the ethics of parties." M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol I: England, Edited by S. M. Lipset (New York:

James Keir Hardie in 1893 that "the man in the cloth cap" who was unwilling to conform to the prevailing modes of gentlemanly behavior appeared on the scene.¹⁵

Generally, the early trade union supported Members were well received in the House of Commons. Thomas Burt, writing in the Fortnightly Review, described their reception as follows:

The Labour members cannot complain of their reception by the House. Whatever its faults and failings may be--and it has many--that assembly is, so far as its own members are concerned, thoroughly democratic. It believes in, and practices equality, and is free alike from condescension and from arrogance. Let a member know in substance what he is talking about--let him talk straight at the House, not up to it, still less down to it--and the House will accord him a fair hearing, and will make generous allowance for his bluntness and inaccuracies of speech. Probably there is no place in the world where social position counts for less than in the British House of Commons. It may be unfair in its judgment of a man; but it never measures him by a mean standard. It estimates

Anchor Doubleday Books, 1964), p. 281. First published in 1902. Cf. Francis Williams, Magnificent Journey (London: Odhams Press, 1954), p. 211.

¹⁵"The man in the cloth cap" refers to the usual head covering worn by members of the working classes and which J. Keir Hardie pioneered in the House of Commons. When he first took his seat in the House, Hardie was wearing a cloth cap rather than the traditional high hat worn by gentlemen of the late nineteenth century. According to one version of what happened, Hardie had not intended to wear the cap to the House but was prevented by the enthusiasm of his followers from returning home to change after a demonstration before going on to the House. Hodge, pp. 263-264.

H. Asquith, the future Prime Minister, drew a sharp distinction between the respectable Liberal trade unionists such as Burt or Charles Fenwick and the new "agitators" such as John Burns or Keir Hardie who appeared in the House in the 1890's. See the Earl of Oxford and Asquith (H. H. Asquith), Fifty Years of British Parliament (Two Volumes; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926), Vol. II, pp. 182-184.

him by his character and ability, and by the extent of his possessions, and cares just as much or just as little for a peasant as for a lord.¹⁶

Burt, of course, was one of the more outstanding trade union parliamentary representatives in these early years and had shown himself willing to accept most of the social values of his fellow Members of the House of Commons. Keir Hardie's reaction might have been quite different.

Even the creation of the Labor Party did not significantly alter the reception accorded to the early trade union supported Members. Following the 1906 election, an anonymous writer described their treatment by the House as follows:

During the early months of the Session [1906] the Labour Party received from all quarters in the House an amount of deference that would have been described as sycophantic if it had been directed toward an aristocratic instead of towards a democratic group.¹⁷

But the early trade union parliamentary representatives were not without their critics. Perhaps the most outstanding of them was Joseph Chamberlain whose views may have been as colored by his political biases as were Thomas Burt's. Chamberlain had already broken with the Liberals and was to become a member of the Tory Government headed by Lord Salisbury in 1895 when he attacked the trade unionists

¹⁶Thomas Burt, Fortnightly Review (1889), quoted in Watson, p. 243.

¹⁷"Socialism in the House of Commons," Edinburgh Review, CCIV (October, 1906), p. 271.

in 1894 as "mere fetchers and carriers for the Gladstonian party."¹⁸

And in 1900 he declared,

When they come into Parliament they are like fish out of water; their only use is as an item in the voting machine . . . not one of these gentlemen had ever initiated or carried through legislation for the benefit of the working classes, though occasionally they had hindered such legislation.¹⁹

Criticism of the trade union leaders who sat in the House of Commons was partly limited by the fact that it was not until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century (or even later) that it became clear which political party would secure the bulk of the working class vote. For the Liberals, there was a very real possibility that the new Labor Party might join them or that the trade unions might desert the new party.²⁰ It was not until the time of the First World War that the

¹⁸Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 279. Chamberlain's own record as a reform leader led one author to comment that ". . . Chamberlain's withdrawal from the Liberal party left the labour element, as it were, without a Liberal leader, and thereby aided in the development of a separate labour party." Elsie Elizabeth Gulley, Joseph Chamberlain and English Social Politics (New York: Columbia University, 1926), p. 253.

¹⁹Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 279, quoting The Times (London) (October 1, 1900). George Howell spends some 15 pages in trying to refute Chamberlain. See George Howell, Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders (Two volumes; Second edition; London: T. F. Unwin, 1905), Vol. II, pp. 459-473.

²⁰The relatively reluctant attachment of the trade unions to the new Labor Representation Committee and its socialist supporters in the first years of the twentieth century is reflected in recurring examples of new Lib-Lab Parliamentary candidates who ran with some degree of union support. For example, in 1910, one of the unions which was to form part of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers allowed one of its officers, A. J. Baily, to stand for Parliament as a Liberal. He was defeated by a Conservative. See H. A. Clegg, General Union in a Changing Society (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), p. 59. Another case

Liberals ceased to really expect this. The other major party, the Conservatives, were also tantalized by the possibility that the working classes might yet realize that the Tories had their best interests at heart.²¹ The consolidation of the Labor Party by the 1920's meant that both of the traditional parties were to be denied the bulk of the working class support.

THE ACTIVITY OF UNION LEADERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The Representative's Role Confusion

The early trade union supported Members of Parliament in this third phase of interest representation were subject to pressures from

involved one of the components of the Miners' Federation. In 1913 an official of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, Barnet Kenyon, stood as a Liberal in opposition to both a socialist (John Scurr) and a Conservative. Kenyon won the three cornered contest. See G. D. H. Cole, p. 299; The Times (London) (August, 1913); Williams, The Derbyshire Miners, pp. 505-510, 807-821. Cf. Fenner Brockway, Inside the Left (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1942), pp. 36-38.

²¹Early trade union political activity was by no means restricted to alliances with the Liberals. Many trade unionists were Conservatives. This was especially true in the cotton unions. In 1899, James Mawdsley, a leader of the Cotton Spinners and a member of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, stood as a "Conservative-Labor" candidate. Mawdsley was defeated by Lib-Lab intervention. See Henry Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900 (London: Macmillan, 1954), p. 217. Further evidence of the continuing working class support for the Conservatives can be seen in the comment of Austin Chamberlain in a letter to Arthur Balfour dealing with the first General Election of 1910: "I Don't think we can afford to give away our own men in the Trades Unions." Austin Chamberlain, Politics from Inside (London: Cassell, 1936), p. 200. Cf. L. S. Amery, My Political Life (Three volumes; London: Hutchinson, 1953), Vol. II, p. 112; W. F. Moneyppenny

a variety of clientele. On the one hand they had been sent into the House of Commons to further and protect the interests of their respective unions. In addition, they frequently perceived themselves as representing the entire working class.²² Within the House of Commons, however, they found themselves expected to accept the Burkean view of the representative's function which held that he should be responsible to no outside body save his constituency and that he should seek to consider the good of the entire nation rather than sections of it (including his constituency) when making decisions on public policy.²³ The resulting role confusion created a number of intellectual and behavioral problems for the early trade union sponsored parliamentary representatives.

The simplest and most usual solution to these problems was to simply ignore all but one of the clientele to which the Member was linked. In doing this, there was no unanimity among the union supported

and G. E. Buckle, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli (New edition in Two Volumes; London: John Murry, 1929), Vol II, p. 709.

For a more systematic treatment of this phenomenon of the working class Conservative, see R. T. McKenzie and A. Silver, "Conservatism, Industrialism and the Working Class Tory in England," Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology (September 2-8, 1962), Vol. III, pp. 191-202. (Washington: International Sociological Association, 1964), and a forthcoming book by these same authors.

²²Above, pp. 18-21. Cf. Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 111-112.

²³For a thorough discussion of British theories of representation, see A. H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964). The Burkean view is discussed on pp. 48-81. For an argument that the disinterested Member of Parliament has always been a rarity in practice, see Beer, pp. 23-24.

Members as to which clientele they would favorably respond to.

Some of them made a conscious attempt to claim that they were acting in behalf of their constituencies. Henry Broadhurst, for example, refers to his success in having Hanley, a town in his constituency, made a Quarter Sessions town. He then goes on to say, 'I took great pleasure in my success in this direction, which entirely disproved the theory that a labour representative could be of no service to the general and commercial interests of his constituency, and would confine his attention to voicing the desires of the working classes only.'²⁴

With regard to his efforts toward legal reform, he writes, "The reform of the criminal law was by no means a solitary example of the way in which the efforts of the Parliamentary Committee were exerted, not merely for the working classes, but on behalf of the community at large."²⁵

Other trade unionists, however, were quite explicit about representing the working class as a whole. Will Thorne wrote,

During all the years that I have been a Member of Parliament I have consistently tried to get legislation enacted that would improve the lot of the working class. I have been associated with Bills of all kinds, from nationalisation to cheap workmen's trains; I have introduced deputations to Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers.²⁶

²⁴H. Broadhurst, H. Broadhurst, M.P.: The Story of his Life: From a Stone Mason's Bench to the Treasury Bench (Second edition; London: Hutchinson, 1901), p. 105.

²⁵Ibid., p. 77.

²⁶Will Thorne, My Life's Battles (London: George Newnes, 1925), pp. 208-209; Cf. George Haw, From Workhouse to Westminster (London: Cassell and Company, 1907), pp. 202-207, 219-226, 230-240.

But others viewed their representative role in still another fashion. For these men, their primary function was to further the interests of their unions. Joseph Arch, leader of the agricultural laborers, wrote, ". . . now I hoped soon to be in the House of Commons to give the landlords a word or two about the periodical increases of rent and a few other things."²⁷ A similarly viewed statement of the role of the representative was found in the memoirs of J. H. Thomas, where he wrote: "Throughout the whole of my life I had never done anything but work on the railways or for the railwaymen. My life was dedicated to their interests."²⁸

That there exists ground for role conflict between the expectations of different individual unions is obvious. For example, John Hodge of the Steelsmelters refused to support an effort by the Shop Assistant's union to secure the support of the Parliamentary Labor Party for special legislation regulating the hours of shop assistants. But he had not been unwilling to seek special legislation for the iron and steel industry. His opposition to the Shop Assistants led to an effort by the Groton Trades Council to censure him for not following the edict of the

²⁷Joseph Arch, The Story of His Life, Told by Himself, edited by the Countess of Warwick (Second edition; London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898), pp. 354-355.

²⁸J. H. Thomas, My Story (London: Hutchinson, 1937), pp. 196-197. Cf. Beer, pp. 23-24, n. 3. The particular interests of the miners is well known. See H. J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), p. 326; Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-1924, p. 72. Entry for December 8, 1916.

Shop's Assistants' union. When he pointed out the conflict between his own union, the Steelsmelters, the Shop Assistants', and the local Cotton unions, the censure move was altered to a vote of confidence.²⁹ It was an accepted thing that he should put the interests of his own union first.

Most of the early trade union supported Members referred to above solved their role confusion problems by giving priority to one or another of the clienteles to which they were linked. Other union supported Members solved the problems by combining their clienteles. Perhaps the best example of this was John Wilson, the General Secretary of the Durham Miners. Wilson served as a Member of Parliament from 1884 until 1886 and from 1890 until 1915. In this autobiography he referred to his political career as follows:

It will not be of service for me to dwell upon the personal side of my Parliamentary life. There would be too much of the egotist. This much I may say, there are points in which I might mention with legitimate pride. I went into the House as a thorough believer in and supporter of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party in general politics. From that I have never swerved. That is my political creed now (1909), and without a shadow of a doubt it will remain. The Liberals in the division were told this in 1890; and with it they were told that the first plank in my platform was the welfare of my class, and to that I hold as tenaciously as ever.³⁰

Wilson saw no grounds for conflict between the expectations of his class and his party. What he might have done had such conflict become

²⁹Hodge, pp. 157-159.

³⁰John Wilson, Memories of a Labour Leader (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910), p. 284. On the other hand, this is the same John Wilson who provided so much opposition to the demand for an eight hour work day for the miners. Below, pp. 43-45.

apparent is difficult to say although it is suggestive that he refused to go along with the miners' union when they affiliated with the new Labor Party in 1909. To the end of his political career, he continued to give formal allegiance to the Liberal-Labor alliance which he had been a part of since his first entry into politics.

The conflict between the general and particular interests which attract the time and effort of the Member of Parliament is a continuing one, and the resulting role confusion is not easily eliminated. The nation as a whole, his constituency, and the people and organizations with which he is associated all tend to expect the Member to support their interests. We will have occasion to examine in greater detail a number of cases of conflict between the Member and his supporting or sponsoring union in Chapter III.

General Effectiveness in the House of Commons

The early trade union supported Members of Parliament differed in their effectiveness within the House of Commons. Some were utterly unable to impress their colleagues. William Crawford "is alleged never to have opened his mouth in the House." William Abraham (Mabon)'s "oratory was designed for the Welsh valleys' rather than the Palace of Westminster. Even Benjamin Pickard, for all his extra-parliamentary ability as the leader of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain "was a failure as a parliamentarian. His interests were narrow; his speeches rare, bad, and sometimes muddled." But there were also

trade union sponsored Members who made a positive contribution to the House. Thomas Burt "was the man for general reflections, an eloquent protagonist of class-collaboration." Charles Fenwick "was the group's specialist on problems like payment of Members and registration law." John Wilson was recognized as an active committee man and a ready speaker."³¹

Thomas Burt, who represented Morpeth in the House from 1874 until 1918, was one of the more respected early trade union sponsored Members. Never achieving high office, he did become Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in 1892-1895.

He spoke but seldom in the House, but when it was known that the member for Morpeth was on his feet, interest was immediately aroused. His name is associated with many reform measures, such as the Employers' Liability Act (1880), factory and workshop legislation, amendments to the Trades Union Acts, and improved Mines Acts for the greater safety of miners.³²

Burt served on a number of Royal Commissions including the Royal Commission on Labor in 1894. From the record of these activities, it would seem clear that Burt devoted a considerable amount of his time to matters of interest to his union and the working class as a whole. In the latter part of his parliamentary career, he was honored

³¹All of the quotes in this paragraph were taken from Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 285. Ben Turner comments that Mabon was "better known in the trade union world as a singer than a speaker; . . . " Ben Turner, About Myself (London: Humphrey Toulmin, 1930), p. 286.

³²H. R. H. Weaver (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 143. Cf. Watson, p. 244.

by being the first living politician to have his portrait hung in the Reform Club.³³ Burt finished his Parliamentary career as Father of the House, having served there longer than any other Member.

Burt was an outstanding example of the union supported Member as a gentleman.³⁴ More effective as a political leader was Henry Broadhurst, the generally acknowledged leader of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament. Broadhurst was the secretary of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee from 1875 until 1890. He served in the House of Commons from 1880 until 1906. For a decade he provided a direct link between the Trades Union Congress and Parliament. While he served in the dual capacity, Broadhurst often introduced legislation drawn up by the Parliamentary Committee. In 1886 he became the first working class member of the Government when he served briefly as Under-Secretary to the Home Office.³⁵

Other early trade union representatives of unquestioned ability included David J. Shackleton who left Parliament in 1910 for a long and important career in the Civil Service, Arthur Henderson who provided much of the organization skill which was to make the Labor Party a successful mass party in the period after World War I, and John Burns of the Gasworkers, who was the first member of the working

³³Watson, p. 274.

³⁴The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, Vol II, p. 183.

³⁵Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 284.

class to enter the Cabinet when he became President of the Local Government Board in 1906. However, despite the achievements of these and other individuals among the early trade union supported Members, there seems little evidence to dispute V. L. Allen's assertion that the union parliamentary representatives "were now respectable members of the Liberal Party, fit to be given subordinate Ministerial positions (where incidentally, they held very little influence . . .)."³⁶

Basically, the early trade union supported Members of Parliament were concerned to insure that the interests of the working class and the interests of their respective unions were presented before the nation assembled in Parliament. At times, this sort of representation could be very elementary. For example, when the miners of England were accused of taking improper advantage of the prosperity which followed the Franco-Prussian War,

Mr. Burt made one of his earliest successes in the House of Commons . . . by replying to Sir John Holker, who told an amazed assembly how the miners fed their bull pups on mutton chops from the loin. He [Burt] was able to show that the miners of Northumberland, at any rate, did not keep bull pups. If they were doggy, their tastes ran to grayhounds and whippets. He was able to show elsewhere that in the year 1872, the average wage in the Northern coalfields was seven shillings a day, which was comfortable but by no means splendid.³⁷

If nothing else, the early trade union parliamentary representatives must have lessened the ignorance of the propertied classes of living conditions among the working class.

³⁶Allen, "The Ethics of Trade Union Leaders," p. 320.

³⁷Watson, p. 114.

The eight hour day. --The early trade union supported Members were hampered in their legislative effectiveness by their own internal divisions.³⁸ Nowhere did this become more apparent than in the struggle over the eight hour day. The demand for an eight hour work day was nothing new in working class politics. As early as 1817, Robert Owen had been calling for a reduction of the work day to only eight hours; but until the end of the century, the labor movement was more concerned with bringing the work day down to nine or ten hours. Having achieved some success in this and under pressure from the slowly growing number of socialists to be found in working class circles, the demand for an eight hour day was revived and intensified in the late 1880's. The Social Democratic Federation was particularly influential in reviving the issue.³⁹

The issue of the eight hour day helps to suggest some of the difficulties in determining exactly what was the working class interest. It provides a clear example of the differences among various unions within the labor movement. Because the working class was not united in its expectations of what the union supported Members of Parliament should do to help secure an eight hour work day, and because the Members of Parliament were willing to respond to different clienteles during the struggle, the issue helps to illustrate the

³⁸Cf. Hanham, pp. 324-327; F. Bealey and H. Pelling, Labour and Politics, 1900-1906 (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 184-185.

³⁹Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 292.

behavioral conflicts which resulted from the role confusion of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament.

That an eight hour work day was desirable, there seems little dispute. The conflict over the question revolved about the means chosen to implement it. The two major alternative methods (not mutually exclusive) were political or industrial action. On the one hand, the new unionists of the 1890's, socialists, Radical Liberals, and even some Tory Democrats favored state action or legislation to secure the reduced work day.⁴⁰ On the other hand, old unionists, Liberals, and Conservatives who accepted the dominant liberal economic theories of the age were opposed to any sort of state action affecting the economic sphere. Those in this group who favored the eight hour day felt that it should be secured through industrial action, through action by the trade unions against the employers. In addition to these divisions on the basis of economic doctrine, the dispute was aggravated by rivalry and bickering between different unions and between unions and their leaders. This parochialism of the unions was most obvious within the Miners' Federation.

In the late 1880's, most trade union leaders were opposed to the idea of legislation which would require the eight hour day. In 1887, Henry Broadhurst spoke in the House of Commons in the name of the

⁴⁰For example, Joseph Chamberlain, despite his change in party, was a supporter of eight hour day legislation. Gulley, p. 257.

Trades Union Congress against an eight hour day amendment to the Mines Regulation Act.⁴¹ At the same time, the Trades Union Congress was making an abortive effort to poll the rank and file membership of the individual unions for their views on the question of whether the eight hour day should be sought by industrial or political means. The results of the poll were unenlightening, partly because the questions had been worded to insure opposition to political action.⁴²

At the 1889 meeting of the Trades Union Congress, the leaders of the Miners' Federation joined with the majority of delegates from other unions to defeat a socialist inspired resolution demanding a general eight hour day law. Having thus prevented action which might have led to action affecting the entire working class, the leaders of the Miners' Federation turned about and staged a successful appeal to the Congress for its support of an eight hour day bill designed to benefit only the miners.⁴³ Broadhurst was instructed to draw up a bill covering the miners.

But the miners' struggle had just begun. The major obstacle to securing the desired eight hour day law was the failure of many miners to support the proposed legislation. The Miners' Federation of Great

⁴¹Arnot, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁴²Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 292. The results of the poll by union can be found in George Howell, Conflicts of Capital and Labour (Second edition; London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), pp. 522-523. Appendix IV.

⁴³Arnot, Vol. I, pp. 130-131.

Britain, led by Benjamin Pickard, was the focus of support for the eight hour day legislation. A number of the regional or county mining unions, however, were of a quite different frame of mind. South Wales gave ambiguous support to the Federation on the issue, and its principal parliamentary spokesman, William Abraham ("Mabon"), could not be depended upon by the Federation leaders. In complete opposition to the idea of securing the eight hour work day through political action were the Durham and Northumberland Miners' Associations. From the start of the active parliamentary campaign in 1890 until the early years of the twentieth century, these two associations and the Members of Parliament supported by them took the lead in opposing any attempt at legislating an eight hour work day.⁴⁴ On this problem or issue of an eight hour work day, the trade union representatives in the House of Commons appeared to be responding to quite different clienteles. The miners from the northeast were responding to the expectations of their local organizations while most of the other trade union supported Members, including some other Members supported by the miners, were responding to the expectations of either their local organization, the Miners' Federation, or the Trades Union Congress.

⁴⁴Their opposition to the eight hour day by legislation becomes more understandable when we note that they had already secured a seven hour day, thirty-seven hour week through collective bargaining. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Industrial Democracy (New edition; London: Longmans, Green, 1911), p. 255.

The parliamentary representatives of the Durham and Northumberland miners were Thomas Burt, Charles Fenwick, and John Wilson. Frequent contributors to debate throughout the nineties on the question, the three worked consistently with the mine owners and others to oppose passage of eight hour day legislation.⁴⁵ Their position was summed up by Burt when he told the Eighty Club in December, 1890, that, "I am against, strongly against, the fixing of the hours of adult men by act of Parliament."⁴⁶ Among the Members associated with unions other than the miners, Henry Broadhurst, retired from his Trades Union Congress position after 1890, also opposed the legislation.

Throughout the 1890's, the opponents of eight hour day legislation came under increasing pressure. Broadhurst's defeat at West Nottingham in 1892 was blamed on his opposition to the Eight Hours' (Mines) Bill.⁴⁷ Burt, Fenwick, and Wilson were secure with the support of their unions, but they could be attacked elsewhere. Fenwick, for example, had succeeded Broadhurst as the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee in 1890. The conflict between the

⁴⁵Webb, Industrial Democracy, p. 262.

⁴⁶Watson, p. 233. Cf. Fenwick's reason given in Arnot, Vol I, p. 181.

⁴⁷Arnot, Vol. I, p. 294. Broadhurst said of this election: "I have never been convinced that the Eight Hours question was to any appreciable extent the cause of my defeat at the polls." See Broadhurst, p. 240. The opponents of eight hour day legislation could also exert influence. A. Henderson, whose constituency included many Durham miners, opposed the eight hour day in 1905 because of pressure from them. See Bealey and Pelling, p. 201.

Committee's support for the Miners' Federation campaign for an eight hours day bill and the opposition of Fenwick's union, the Northumberland Miners' Association, to the same legislation led to repeated attempts to remove Fenwick from his position with the Parliamentary Committee. As the Webbs describe the situation:

It was in vain that Fenwick, with most engaging candour, explained to each successive Congress that his pledge to his constituents, no less than his own opinions, would compel him actively to oppose all regulation of the hours of adult male labour. The Congress nevertheless elected him for four successive years as Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee, replacing him only in 1894 by an officer who was prepared to support the policy of the Congress.⁴⁸

The divisions within the trade union movement were only one aspect of the struggle. Along with this internal disunity, one is struck by the names of non-trade union supported Members in the struggle. This was especially true of supporters of legislation who had to depend on a number of friendly, Radical Members of Parliament for assistance. For example, it was R. B. Cunninghame-Graham who drafted the first miners' eight hour bill introduced by the Federation leaders in Parliament in 1890.⁴⁹ Sir Charles Dilke was active in support of the legislation throughout most of the 1890's. And in 1898-1900 it was J. A. Jacoby, M.P., who acted as the floor manager for the Federation.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Sidney and Beatrice Webb, A History of Trade Unionism (New edition; London: Longmans, Green, 1920), pp. 567-68.

⁴⁹The text of this Bill adopted by the Federation in 1890 is given in Arnot, Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 270-271. Cf. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners, p. 498.

In part, this dependence on middle class Members of Parliament must reflect on the legislative ability of the men sent into the House of Commons by the miners' unions.

The opposition of the Durham and Northumberland miners' associations to the eight hour day lessened in the first decade of the twentieth century. As it waned, the opposition of their parliamentary spokesmen waned also. But to the very end, the Members of Parliament supported by the miners' union showed that they were prepared to put the demands of their supporting union above all else on this question. Finally, in 1908, after over fifteen years of parliamentary struggle, a miners' eight hour day bill was enacted into law when the Government adopted the proposal as its own.

Trade union law: The Taff Vale Decision. --The struggle over the eight hour day emphasized the internal divisions within the trade union movement and its contribution to the role confusion of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament. These divisions were much less obvious in the struggle over trade union law which lasted from 1900 until 1913. In this dispute, trade union law was thrown into considerable confusion by the Taff Vale and the Osborne decisions of the House of Lords. The Taff Vale case arose out of a railroad strike in South Wales, and the decision of the House of Lords placed in jeopardy the right of unions to strike. Summing up the decision, the Webbs wrote:

After elaborate argument, the Law Lords decided that the Trade Unions, though admittedly not a corporate body, could be sued in a corporate capacity for damages alleged to have been caused by the action of its officers, and that an injunction could be issued against it, restraining it and all its officers, not merely from criminal acts, but also from unlawfully though without the slightest criminality, causing loss to other persons.⁵¹

As early as May, 1902, even before the final results of the decision were known, Richard Bell, the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (the union directly involved in the case) and the Member of Parliament from Derby, acting on behalf of his union, introduced a bill to reverse the House of Lords' ruling. The bill was designed to permit peaceful picketing, but had to be withdrawn in the face of Government hostility.⁵²

The trade unions, realizing the seriousness of the situation, began to take an increasing interest in politics. As the impact of the Taff-Vale decision became known, the number of trade unions affiliated to the new Labor Representation Committee took a sharp jump. As the figures in Table 3 show, it was between February, 1902, and February, 1903, that the Committee made its most important early gains. The number of affiliated unions and the number of individuals represented by those unions belonging to the Labor Representation Committee almost doubled within this one year period.

⁵¹ Webb, A History of Trade Unionism, p. 600.

⁵² Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 331.

TABLE 3

TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS TO THE LABOUR
REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE,
1900-1906

	Number of unions	Affiliated union member- ship	Unions affiliating on more than 10,000 members	L. R. C. union membership as a propor- tion of T. U. C. membership ^a	Number of affiliated grades councils
February	41	353,070	Blastfurnacemen (10,000) Boot and Shoe Operatives (32,084) Brassworkers (10,000) Compositors, London Society of (11,415) Dock Labourers (12,000) Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers (13,829) Gasworkers and General Labourers (48,038) Ironfounders (18,357) Railway Servants (60,000) Shipwrights (18,000) Steel Smelters (10,509) Typographical Association (16,000)	29%	7
February 1901-2	65	455,450	Builders' Labourers, United (12,000) Labour, National Amalgamated Union of (23,000) Plasterers (11,000) Postmen's Federation (24,000) Shoe Assistants (11,000) Stonemasons (20,000)	32%	21

February 1902-3	127	847,315	Bleachers, Dyers and Kindred Trades (10,000) Boilermakers (49,000) Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of (62,000) Engineers (84,000) Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (10,000) Textile Factory Workers' Association, United (103,000)	56%	49
February 1903-4	165	956,025	Bricklayers (37,500) Miners' Federation, Lancashire and Cheshire (37,000) Plumbers (11,500)	67% ^b	76
February 1904-5	158	855,270 ^c	Painters and Decorators (10,966)	56% ^d	73
February 1905-6	158	904,496		58%	73

^aTrades Union Congress membership is that for the following September in each case.

^bThe rise in this percentage is partly explained by a fall in the total affiliated to the Trades Union Congress between 1903 and 1904.

^cThe decline was due to the compulsory levy introduced at the beginning of 1904. This reduced the number of small unions affiliating, and caused others to affiliate on a smaller membership (Labour Representation Committee, Annual Report, 1905).

^dAn additional cause of the fall in this percentage was the reaffiliation of the Engineers and the Durham Miners to the Trades Union Congress.

Source:

This table including all notes, is reproduced from H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 375.

Confronted by a common threat to their industrial position, the trade unions began to turn toward collective political action as a means of securing redress. With the increase in the number of affiliated unions, the Committee was in a better position to put forward additional candidates at the time of the next election. The Taff Vale Decision must be given a fair amount of credit for making the Labor Representation Committee into the beginning of an effective political force.⁵³ The decision was a major factor in pointing out to the trade unions the limitations of their political activity up to that point. Confronted by a common challenge, the unions and their parliamentary spokesmen showed that they were quite able to unite to insure that the common interest of organized labor was made known.

A second lesson of importance for the future development of the Labor Party was contained in the response of the labor movement to the Taff Vale Decision. The Trades Union Congress, realising the seriousness of the situation, sought to enlist additional political help wherever possible. The trade union supported Members of Parliament could be relied on to support legislation to reverse the decision, but there was a pressing need to secure additional parliamentary support and to devise legislation which would restore to the trade unions the privileges and protection which they thought they had possessed since the 1870's. The Trades Union Congress made extensive use of friendly

⁵³Thomas, p. 23.

Radical Members of Parliament. Sir Charles Dilke was perhaps the single most important Member among the middle class allies of the Congress in the struggle to reverse the decision.⁵⁴ The majority of trade union supported Members of Parliament apparently lacked the legislative skills needed, and only two union sponsored Members, Richard Bell and David J. Shackelton, played anything like a prominent role in the struggle.⁵⁵

The labor movement did not confine its attention to the floor of the House of Commons. Securing little assistance from the Conservative Government of Arthur Balfour, the unions took an aggressive role in the General Election of 1906. Their efforts were partially responsible for the defeat of the Conservative Government and the return of a Liberal majority along with some 29 Members of Parliament supported by the new Labor Party.⁵⁶ The Liberal Government formed by Campbell-Bannerman was not allowed to forget the importance of its working class support or the reasons for that support. The new Labor Members were living proof that the working class as a whole and the trade unions in particular might find it possible to take their political support elsewhere if the Liberals did not respond favorably.

⁵⁴Roy Jenkins, Sir Charles Dilke (London: Collins, 1958), pp. 394-95. Throughout the latter part of his parliamentary career Dilke was very active in support of Labor causes in the House of Commons and he maintained close personal contacts with the leaders of the Trades Union Congress.

⁵⁵Clegg, Fox and Thompson, pp. 368-369.

⁵⁶Webb, A History of Trade Unionism, p. 604.

The Liberal Party approached the subject of trade union law with mixed feelings. It was not opposed to something which would insure that the new Labor Party would not become an effective political force. But the individual Members of Parliament who comprised the Liberal Party had also to consider their constituencies and the forces that had brought about their election.

The new Government had attempted to temporize over the annulment of the Taff Vale decision, but to its discomfort member after member from its own benches rose to explain that he had only been elected upon the specific promise of legislation to cancel that decision. The promises had to be fulfilled forthwith⁵⁷

The initial proposal of the Campbell-Bannerman Government was not acceptable to the Trades Union Congress. To force the issue, Walter Hudson (a former President of the Railway Servants' union and now one of its official parliamentary representatives) introduced the Parliamentary Committee's Bill on March 28, 1906. The progress of the Bill through Parliament was directed by Dilke and Shackleton. When the degree of support for the Bill within the Liberal Party became apparent, Campbell-Bannerman, without consulting his Cabinet,⁵⁸ announced on

⁵⁷G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The Common People, 1746-1946 (Second edition; London: Methuen, 1961), p. 459.

⁵⁸Francis Williams, Fifty Years March (London: Odhams Press, 1950), pp. 157-158. At least one important member of the Campbell-Bannerman Government, Herbert H. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, opposed the Prime Minister's action. S. A. Spender and Cyril Asquith, Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith (Two volumes; London: Hutchinson & Co., 1932), Vol. I, pp. 182-184.

the floor of the House that the Government would take over the Bill as its own. Thus, the Trades Dispute Act of 1906 became law and once again the trade unions thought their right to strike was protected.

Trade union law: The Osborne Decision. --Even before this reversal of the Taff Vale decision, a threat to the trade unions' political activity was emerging. Once again the principal union involved was the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The secretary of one of the union's branches, W. V. Osborne, objected to the use of trade union funds to support the Labor Party and to the attempts made by the union and the Labor Party to prevent Richard Bell from working with the Liberals in the House of Commons. The final judicial decision handed down by the House of Lords in the Osborne case came in 1909 and prohibited a union from using any of its fund for any political purpose since such functions had not been included in the list of trade union objectives in the Trade Union Amendment Act of 1876.⁵⁹

The decision was confused in its reasoning with different Judges using different rationales,⁶⁰ but the results were clear. The Labor Party's source of funds was to be cut off. Some twenty trade union

⁵⁹Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 414. That unions had been using their funds for political purposes since the 1860's was thought irrelevant. That some unions, especially among the textile workers were created precisely for political purposes and had no industrial functions was also ignored. See Webb, A History of Trade Unionism, pp. 608-611, 615-625; Webb, Industrial Democracy, pp. 258-260.

⁶⁰A summary table of the reason used in the decisions is found in Humphrey, p. 199, Appendix VIII.

supported Members of Parliament saw their principal financial support being eliminated.⁶¹ To alleviate the immediate difficulties which this caused, and to insure Labor Party support for his National Insurance Program, Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the state payment of Members of Parliament in 1911 with the annual salary set at £400.

The larger problem, from the trade unions' point of view, of how to protect their political activities and the Labor Party's financial base was not dealt with. Once again, the Liberal Party was not particularly disturbed by the discomfiture of the new Party. The Labor Members of Parliament, for their part, had to continue to support the Liberal Government or face the possibility of the Conservatives being returned to power which would make the prospects of reversing the Osborne decision even more remote. Finally, in 1913, the Liberal Government enacted legislation which allowed trade unions to establish separate funds for political purposes after taking a vote of the union membership. This restored part of what the unions felt they had lost in the Osborne decision, but the Trade Union Act of 1913 did not go as far as they would have preferred.

There were two results of the Osborne decision which greatly affected the future development of the Labor Party and the entire labor

⁶¹Williams, Fifty Years March, pp. 175-180. For a discussion of the overall effect of the Osborne decision on Labor Party finances, see William B. Gwyn, Democracy and the Cost of Politics in Britain (London: The Athlone Press, 1962), pp. 178-205.

movement. First, the decision solidified the attachment of the trade unions to the new Party. The Taff Vale decision had resulted in the decision to make the Labor Representation Committee a successful pressure group. But many trade unions gave only lukewarm support to the new political organization and some refused to support it at all. There was still a strong Liberal sentiment to be found among the members of the various unions.⁶² This Liberal support was weakened now by the fact that one of the judges in the Osborne decision was a former Liberal Member of Parliament,⁶³ and the failure of the Liberal Government to take immediate steps to reverse the decision. In the House of Commons, this disenchantment could be seen in the way the number of Lib-Lab Members declined while the number of Labor Members grew. "By the time the spate of litigation over the Osborne case ceased, only three Lib-Lab M. P. s survived whilst there were fifty M. P. s accepting the Whip of the Labour Party."⁶⁴ The Trade unions were gradually learning that they would have to look out for their own political interests since no one else would do it.

If one result of the Osborne decision was to increase the attachment of the trade unions for the Labor Party and thus open the way for it to become a national mass party with hopes of eventually forming

⁶²Above, pp. 26-29.

⁶³Philip Bagwell, The Railwaymen (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 257.

⁶⁴Ibid.

a government, the second result is equally important. The Osborne decision opened the way to the eventual separation of the entire labor movement into two quite distinct wings, one concerned with industrial and one with political questions. So long as the trade union supported Members of Parliament were dependent on their unions for their livelihood, there was little likelihood of a serious disagreement between them. So long as the unions continued to send their top personnel into the House of Commons, there was little possibility of a serious split between the industrial and political sides of the movement. But the state payment of Members of Parliament enacted in 1911 as a reaction to the Osborne decision laid the groundwork for the end of both these conditions of working class unity, such as it was.

The trade union supported Member of Parliament now found himself with a guaranteed source of income independent of his supporting union. No longer did he have to anticipate a withdrawal of funds if he disagreed with his union. More important, pressure began to increase from other sources to insist that the Member of Parliament devote more of his time to parliamentary duties. And the trade unions began to realize that being a Member of Parliament was a potentially full-time job which was incompatible with the demands of a regular position within the union.⁶⁵ The unions gradually found it increasingly less useful to send their top personnel into the House of Commons.

⁶⁵ Sir Arthur Pugh, Men of Steel (London: The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 1951), p. 173.

The separation of the labor movement into political and industrial wings meant that the trade union supported Members of Parliament would soon find themselves confronted by yet another set of expectations concerning their legislative behavior, the Labor Party. The long term growth of party discipline within the House of Commons meant that the expectations of the Labor Party would have far more impact than had those of the Liberal Party at the end of the nineteenth century. This new set of expectations deriving from the Labor Party were merely added to those expectations arising from the supporting union, class, constituency, the nation as a whole, or the House of Commons. Thus, the Member's potential role confusion as he sought to reconcile these expectations was further increased.

In the long run, of course, the creation of the Labor Party meant that a new frame of reference was being created which would take precedence over these other clientele expectations and which would go a long way to assist the Member of Parliament to reconcile whatever conflicts there may have been among them.

Evaluation. --The failure of the early trade union parliamentary representatives and the new Labor Party to achieve greater success must be viewed against the background of British politics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First of all, the union supported Members were never more than a minority, and a small minority at that, within one of the two major parties of the time. Even the distinct Labor Party which came into existence was forced

to function more as a pressure group within the House of Commons rather than an alternative Government.⁶⁶ Perhaps only on the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 did it have any real power to bring to bear on the Government, and this due more to electoral pressures on the backbench Liberals than it was to the number of Labor Members of Parliament.⁶⁷

The interests of the early trade union spokesmen may have been shared by a number of middle class Radical Members of Parliament, but the Radicals were still only a minority within the Liberal Party. The ability of the trade union supported Members to attract all party support for their proposals came into conflict with the gradual increase in the importance of party discipline within the House of Commons as a whole, and especially in the Division lobbies.⁶⁸ The Taff Vale decision was the last time that the trade unions made a concerted effort to attract all-party support.⁶⁹

⁶⁶K. B. Smellie, Great Britain Since 1688: A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 321. Cf. Cole, British Working Class Politics, p. 235; Bealey and Pelling, p. 282.

⁶⁷Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 486n. Cf. "Nor can it be said that this meagre group had any marked effect upon the legislation of these years [1900-1906]." H. Tracey (ed.), The Book of the Labour Party (London: Caxton Publishing Co., 1925), Vol. I, p. 139.

⁶⁸See A. Lawrence Lowell, The Influence of Party Upon Legislation in England and America (Washington: American Historical Association Annual Report, 1902). Lowell's statistical evidence is supported by those authors who refer to the period between 1832 and 1867 as the golden age of the Private Member. See Beer, pp. 38-39, 48-49, and sources cited therein.

⁶⁹V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, Green, 1960), pp. 17-19.

Secondly, the legislative effectiveness of the early trade union supported Members of Parliament was lessened by their role confusion, by their inability to agree on which clientele they should respond to. The differences in behavior which resulted from this confusion meant that the trade union spokesmen frequently seemed more interested in looking out for the interests of their particular unions rather than the interests of the working class as a whole.⁷⁰ This parochialism was reflected in the struggle over the eight hour day and in their failure to create any sort of organization within the House of Commons until the very end of the nineteenth century. Only in the late 1890's did the trade union supported Members organize a subcommittee to deal with labor questions that came before the House of Commons and appoint a group Whip.⁷¹

The parochialism of the individual unions remained a major factor in labor politics until the entire movement was engulfed in the rising tide of British Socialism which Beer has called the "Socialist generation."⁷² The gradual adoption of a common ideology by the

⁷⁰Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 488; Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900, p. 205. The conflict or potential conflict between individual union expectations and class expectations is one that is frequently overlooked when writing about the trade unions and the labor movement. Failure to recognize these differences can lead to a false impression of the unity of the early labor movement. For example, see Martin Harrison, Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), p. 292.

⁷¹Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 267.

⁷²Beer, pp. 126-187.

labor movement meant that the trade union spokesmen in the House of Commons were confronted by a somewhat different set of expectations concerning their role as legislators. Instead of the earlier parochial positions of unions such as the miners or textile workers who saw no particular need for intra-class co-operation,⁷³ the parliamentary representatives of the trade unions were increasingly confronted by a new set of expectations calling for co-operation with the Labor Party as it grew during the first two decades of the twentieth century. While it would be incorrect to say that the interests of individual unions came to be ignored because of this ideological and institutional development, the unions did have to adjust their expectations of their legislative representatives' role to fit with the newer and broader frame of reference offered by the Labor Party.⁷⁴

A third factor to which attention must be given was the continual dependence of the trade union supported Members on middle class allies both in terms of votes and in terms of other parliamentary skills such as the drafting of legislation and debate on the floor of the House of Commons. Here the working class characteristics of the trade union representatives put them at the greatest disadvantage. The experience of these early trade union spokesmen is highly suggestive that the qualities which made for adequate and even great union leadership were not

⁷³Clegg, Fox and Thompson, pp. 271, 488; Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party, pp. 205-206.

⁷⁴Beer, p. 112.

always the same qualities which contributed to parliamentary success.⁷⁵ The trade union leaders who dominated the union representation up until about World War I offered no examples of real or even potential Parliamentary effectiveness. The dependence of the early trade union supported Members on their Radical allies was transformed by the rise of the Labor Party into an alliance of working class votes and money and middle class intellectual power. The conflicts in this alliance have continued to bedevil the Labor Party down to the present.

⁷⁵See especially Webb, Industrial Democracy, pp. 65-71, for a discussion of the qualifications of a "professional representative." Cf. Webb, A History of Trade Unionism, pp. 701-702. W. L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963), p. 230.

CHAPTER II

CHANGING PATTERNS IN PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT

AND PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCE OF TRADE

UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS

OF PARLIAMENT

THE PASSING OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIES

The success of the Labor Party in the elections of 1906 and 1910, World War I, and the elections of the 1920's which resulted in the creation of the first two Labor governments contributed to a separation of the industrial and political functions of the labor movement. The changed emphasis can be identified with the creation of the Trades Union Congress General Council in 1921 and the disappearance of the old Parliamentary Committee. Trade union leaders, confronted with the choice of membership on the new General Council or the Labor Party's National Executive Committee, began to opt for the General Council.¹

¹Henry Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 48. Party rules now forbid simultaneous membership on the Party's National Executive Committee and the Congress' General Council. Labour Party, Constitution and Standing Orders, Standing Order No. 4, paragraph 3d.

The National Executive Committee became the home of the union leaders of second rank or the heirs to the top position. At the same time, the union leaders began to stop entering Parliament. This pattern has continued down to the present.

Even if the decade and a half between 1915 and 1930 had not seen the actual withdrawal of the General Secretaries and other top union leaders from Parliament, the impact of these people would have been lessened by their relative decline in the face of gains by other segments of the Party. In Table 4, we show the growth of the Labor Party since 1900. Of particular importance is the column showing the percentage of trade union sponsored or supported Members in the Parliamentary Labor Party. While almost all of the members of the Parliamentary Party had received direct financial support from one or another of the trade unions in the earliest years, by the 1920's the proportion had fallen to about 50%. Allowing for the exception of 1931, this figure fell to about one-third of the Parliamentary Party after World War II. The trade union element in the party tended to decrease in relative importance as the Party became a truly national party in the 1920's and 1930's. Note also the relatively constant number of trade union candidates since the 1920's (Column 3).

Had the top union leaders remained in the House of Commons, they would have been surrounded by increasing numbers of trade union rank and filers and by increasing numbers of middle class labor representatives. This change in the pattern of labor representation is

TABLE 4

LABOR PARTY GROWTH, 1900-1964

Election	Candidates		Members of Parliament		Trade Union Members as a Percentage of all Labor Party Members	Total Votes Polled
	All Labor Party	Trade Union	All Labor Party	Trade Union		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1900	15	?	2	1	50.0	62,688
1906	50	35 ^a	29	21 ^a	72.4	323,195
1910-I	78	?	40	34 ^e	85.0	505,690
1910-II	56	? ^b	42	39 ^d	92.8	370,802
1918	361	114	57	49 ^b	85.9	2,244,945
1922	414	?	142	85 ^c	59.8	4,236,733
1923	427	?	191	101 ^{f,h}	52.8	4,348,379
1924	415	?	151	86 ^g	56.9	5,487,620
1929	565	137 ^h	287	114 ^j	39.7	8,364,883
1931	491	142	46	35 ^h	76.0	6,362,561
1935	539	130 ^h	154	78 ^{h,j}	50.6	8,325,260
1945	604	124 ^h	393	120 ^h	30.5	11,992,292
1950	617	137	315	111	35.2	13,295,736
1951	617	136	295	108	36.6	13,948,365
1955	620	127	277	95 ⁱ	34.2	12,405,246
1959	621	129	258	93 ⁱ	36.0	12,216,166
1964	628	138	317	120	37.8	12,205,581

Sources:

Columns 2, 4, and 7 (except 1964) are taken from H. Pelling, *A Short History of the**Labour Party* (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 129. For 1964, the material in columns 2, 4,

Source: "The Labour Party" (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 129. For 1964, the material in columns 2, 4, and 7 is taken from The Times Guide to the House of Commons (London: The Times Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 244-246.

Columns 3 and 5 for the years 1929-1955 are taken from Martin Harrison, The Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), pp. 265-267. For the years 1959 and 1964, the material in these two columns is taken from the Labour Party Conference Report (1964), p. 4. For the years 1900 through 1924, the material is taken from the following sources:

- a. H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 384, 387. By 1910, prior to the first General Election of that year, the number of trade union supported Members of Parliament was up to 38. This was partly due to the affiliation of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to the Labor Party in 1909.
 - b. F. Williams, Fifty Years March (London: Odham Press, 1950), pp. 23-25.
 - c. R. T. MacKenzie, British Political Parties (Second edition; New York: Praeger, 1963), pp. 347-348.
 - d. Clegg, Fox and Thompson, pp. 421-422.
 - e. G. D. H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914 (London: Routledge, 1941), pp. 201-202. Other authors give the figure as 38. See Clegg, Fox and Thompson, p. 420.
 - f. Pelling, A Short History . . ., p. 56. Harrison gives this figure as 97. See Harrison, p. 264.
 - g. G. D. H. Cole, A History of the Labour Party Since 1914 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), pp. 87, 171.
- Disagreement with certain of the above statistics are to be found in the following:
- h. Cole, A History . . ., pp. 155, 223, 265, 313, 441. Cole's figures are as follows: For 1923, 98 trade union Members of Parliament. For 1929, 136 candidates. For 1931, 32 trade union Members of Parliament. For 1935 and 1945, his figures are: 1935: 128 trade union candidates and 79 trade union supported Members of Parliament; 1945: 126 trade union candidates and 121 trade union supported Members of Parliament.
 - i. Harrison, p. 267. Harrison states that there were only 92 trade union sponsored Members in 1959.
 - j. Pelling, A Short History . . ., pp. 64, 80. Pelling claims 115 trade union Members in 1935.

The precise reasons for these disagreements is not clear, but it is at least partially due to the lack of any definitive means of identifying those Labor candidates and Members of Parliament receiving union support of one sort or another. None of the above differences would significantly alter the discussion that follows.

described by Guttsman as follows:

From then [1918] onwards, however, the character of Labour representation changes and widens. It becomes a national party and contests a growing number of seats. No longer exclusively active in constituencies predominantly working-class in character, it works through local party organizations open to individual members of all classes of the community. Accordingly, it begins to draw its parliamentary candidates from outside the working class. While 'safe seats' still tend to be held by trade union candidates, and while their chances of success are thus great, the expansion in the number of Labour M. P. s is largely accounted for by candidates with other backgrounds. The total number of seats fought by trade union sponsored candidates fluctuated within comparatively narrow limits throughout the period from 1918 to 1955 and the trade union bloc found its strength within the P. L. P. almost inversely related to the magnitude of the Labour Party's victory. Not all T. U. sponsored candidates were union officials. Some were rank-and-file members while others had been active members, but had left manual work altogether while keeping their Union Membership card. But on the whole, the trade union sponsored M. P. s tended to be men of working-class origin, even if some had moved away from the working-class occupationally and possibly socially, even before they entered the House of Commons.²

A number of different reasons can be advanced for the gradual withdrawal of the union leaders from the House of Commons. A major reason was the increasing pressure of union duties. In a number of instances, it was discovered that the union suffered if the leaders were always occupied with political duties. The historian of the Nottingham Miners, for example, comments: "If this period [1900-1920's] teaches anything, it teaches the unwisdom of allowing full time Union leaders to enter Parliament."³ The absence of the union leaders from their

²W. L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963), pp. 236-237.

³Alan R. Griffin, The Miners of Nottinghamshire, 1914-1944 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 239.

organizations' headquarters frequently meant that subordinate officials were forced to make decisions that were not rightly their's. This was not a new situation, of course. As early as 1906 when John Hodges of the Steel Smelters' Union was elected to Parliament, his union had found it necessary to employ an assistant secretary and to move their headquarters to London.⁴ The footplatemen had similar difficulties in the 1920's. J. Bromley, their General Secretary from 1914 until 1936, served as a Member of Parliament between 1924 and 1931. The official historian of the union says: "With Mr. Bromley constantly in attendance at the House of Commons, a great deal of the work must of necessity have fallen upon the shoulders of his assistant, and it is evident from the minutes of the Executive Committee that Dick Squance was doing more than his share of the work."⁵

A second major reason for the gradual withdrawal of the union leaders was the fact that starting with World War I, they began to secure direct access to the various departments of the Government.⁶

⁴John Hodge, Workman's Cottage to Windsor Castle (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1931), pp. 151-152; Sir Arthur Pugh, Men of Steel (London: The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 1951), pp. 135-139.

⁵Norman McKillop, The Lighted Flame (London: Thomas Nelson, 1950), p. 187. For other references to the conflict between parliamentary and union duties, see Philip Snowden, An Autobiography (Two volumes; London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 1934), Vol. I, pp. 161-162; J. R. Clynes, Memoirs (Two volumes; London: Hutchinson and Co., 1937), Vol. I, p. 112; Ben Turner, About Myself (London: Humphrey Toulmin, 1930), p. 242; Sir James Sexton, Agitator: The Life of the Dockers' M. P. (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), p. 269.

⁶See A. V. S. Lockhead, "The Uses of Advisory Bodies by the Industrial Relations Department of the Ministry of Labour," in

Able to further their interests through these behind-the-scenes consultations, the union leaders saw less necessity to personally represent their unions in the House of Commons. The increased stature of the trade unions in the eyes of the Government was symbolized by the creation of the Ministry of Labor in 1916 and the appointment of a trade unionist, John Hodge, as the first Minister and a former trade union parliamentary representative, David J. Shackleton, as the first Permanent Secretary. The unions began to move from the third or electoral-parliamentary phase of interest representation to the fourth or consultative phase.

As a result, the 1920's marked a transition period in the nature of trade union parliamentary representation. Gradually, the top ranking union leaders were less and less to be seen in the role of a Member of Parliament.⁷ Not all unions went along with this development. The National Union of General and Municipal Workers, for example, continued to allow its leaders to serve in the House of Commons until after World War II. As a result, the union's leadership was weakened during the 1930's.⁸ It was not until 1950 that the Municipal

R. V. Vernon and N. Mansergh (eds.), Advisory Bodies: A Study of Their Uses in Relation to Central Government, 1919-1939 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1940), p. 303.

⁷ For example, in 1922 the Boot and Shoe Operatives decided to ban their officers from serving in Parliament. A. Fox, A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958), p. 462.

⁸ H. A. Clegg, General Union (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), p. 99.

Workers finally decided to forbid such combinations of political and industrial jobs.⁹

Despite exceptions such as this, there can be little argument that the major union leaders were no longer to be found on the political side of the labor movement in Parliament or even on the Party's National Executive Committee.

Ernest Bevin's view of the role of the politician is worthy of note in this regard. Bevin was a reluctant candidate for Parliament in 1918 and 1931. He was under pressure from the Labor Party to stand for

⁹H. A. Clegg, General Union in a Changing Society (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), pp. 202-203.

Another exception was to be found in the Union of Postoffice Workers who defended the practice of having their officers serve in the House of Commons as late as the 1940's. One memo from their files puts it this way:

"Many of the advantages of having Union officers in Parliament are obvious. Trying to utilize other M. P. s (even ex-officers of the Union) is less advantageous. For one thing, these M. P. s naturally have many other matters that occupy them and the Union cannot trespass on their time excessively. It cannot maintain daily contact with them as it can with its own officers who are M. P. s.

"Again the M. P. who is not actually working for the Union is at a disadvantage. It is essential that he should be right up to date with his information and know in detail what problems are pressing, and the way in which the staffs are affected. The P. M. G. (Post Master General) is briefed with the latest information, and can always score off a critic who is not fully informed of all the details.

"One small but important illustration is the asking of questions. We can brief a friendly M. P. to ask a question of the P. M. G. , but often the real value of questions is in the supplementary question put in directly the P. M. G. answers the original question. The P. M. G. may give a misleading or evasive answer, and only the Union officer who is an M. P. can be well enough informed to expose this at once. If the opportunity is missed it may not come again. "

Union of Postoffice Workers, Research Department, "Advantages of Direct Parliamentary Representation." (Typed) (July 2, 1943).

Parliament at other times, but he refused until the crisis of World War II finally brought him into the Cabinet and then Parliament. Until 1940, Bevin had generally placed major emphasis on industrial action as a means of securing trade union demands. "He looked upon the political activity as necessary, but subordinate to and dependent upon the industrial strength of the Labor movement organized in the trade unions."¹⁰ But this did not stop him from urging direct parliamentary representation for the union on traditional grounds: "Employing interests--the railway interests, the docking interests--are powerfully represented in the House . . . the Trade Union HAS to come in or the workers' interests go by the board."¹¹

THE NEW MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

From the 1920's until World War II, the personnel representing the trade unions in Parliament assumed a different form from the earlier period. The Union officials such as J. R. Clynes or J. H. Thomas who continued to serve became increasingly separated from their union's industrial activity. The replacements for the leaders were either rank

¹⁰Allen Bullock, The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin, Vol. I: Trade Union Leader, 1881-1940 (London: Heineman, 1960), pp. 234-235. Bevin resented the ability of union leaders like J. R. Clynes to secure industrial concessions through political means. See Francis Williams, Ernest Bevin (London: Hutchinson, 1952), pp. 89-90.

¹¹Bullock, p. 416, quoting the Transport and General Workers' Union Record (November, 1927), pp. 104-105. Compare these remarks with the type of Members which Bevin's union actually sent into the House of Commons. Below, p. 107.

and file members of the unions or lower ranking officials within the union to whom the parliamentary seats were often offered as a sort of consolation prize.¹² Officials who still had ambitions of reaching the top within their union were deterred from taking time out for a parliamentary career because this frequently meant that they had to give up many of their privileges and positions in the union without any guarantee of getting them back at a later date. Under such conditions, able young union officials were less likely to switch from the industrial to the political side of the movement.

Sometimes the change to the new type of personnel representing the unions in Parliament was aggravated by events in the unions themselves. For example, the creation of the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1922 resulted in the redundancy of a number of officials occupying top positions in the unions being merged, but who had no place in the new organization. In its simplest terms, the question revolved around what Ernest Bevin was going to do with men such as Ben Tillett, Harry Gosling, and James Sexton. Bevin found it convenient to encourage them to enter the House of Commons which he used as a retiring ground for those former officials who did not fit into the new union.¹³

¹²Austin Ranney, Pathways to Parliament (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 224, 245. Cf. Martin Harrison, Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), pp. 285-292.

¹³Bullock, p. 204. Sometimes, as in the case of Ben Tillett, it took more than simple encouragement.

It might be argued, of course, that an element of this practice of retiring officials to the House of Commons existed earlier. The General Secretaries and other union leaders who represented the unions in the House of Commons up until the First World War were usually not sent to the House of Commons until after they had held their union positions for sometime. And after they had retired from active work in the unions, they frequently continued to serve in Parliament.¹⁴ In the 1920's and later, this practice was developed into a high art. By the late 1930's, it was a commonplace among students of Parliament that the unions were using it as a retirement home.¹⁵ The miners, who decided early in the 1920's to forbid members of the union's Executive Committee to enter Parliament,¹⁶ came in for the harshest criticism on this score.

The symbolic phase of parliamentary representation which began after World War II saw no immediate change in this practice. Writing with regard to the 1945 general election, the first in ten years, McCallum and Readman could say:

Against the Labour Party it has been alleged that too often a senior and undistinguished Trade Union official has been chosen to

¹⁴Above, p. 19, Figure 1.

¹⁵W. Ivor Jennings, Parliament (First edition; Cambridge: University Press, 1939), p. 49. Cf. Patricia Strauss, Bevin and Company (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941), pp. 82-83.

¹⁶R. Page Arnot, A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (Three volumes; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949-1961), Vol. I, p. 219.

the neglect of the younger and more active trade unionists, that, as the critics put it, the unions retire their officials to the House of Commons.¹⁷

We will have occasion to examine the continued validity of this criticism when we undertake our detailed analysis of the 1959-1964 Parliament.

In a sense, the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament since World War I, and especially after World War II, might be viewed primarily as an outward and visible sign of something going on within the structure of the government. The transition from the electoral-parliamentary phase of interest representation to the consultative phase and the slow, but continual, growth of the process of consultation between unions and the Government meant that the trade unions no longer had much need for direct political representation in the House of Commons except as a guarantee against some future loss of their consultative status.¹⁸

But the trade unions did not immediately alter their expectations of the sponsored Members of Parliament. It took time for the unions to adjust to their consultative status. As a result, the union sponsored Members, during the years between World War I and World War II, continued to be expected to work on behalf of the sponsoring unions.

¹⁷R. B. McCallum and A. Readman, The British General Election of 1945 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 74.

¹⁸A. H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), pp. 205-206.

And the expectations held by the sponsoring unions continued to conflict at times with expectations from other groups such as constituency, class, party, and even the House of Commons which had to be reconciled with the personal judgment of the Member himself.

The class orientation of some of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament is reflected in J. R. Clynes' comments on his initial parliamentary candidacy,

It was in 1904, that I was first invited to contest a Parliamentary by election. Already it had become obvious to me that the only effective way in which Labour could control and improve conditions for the working classes was by going to Westminster, but I had not expected that I should so speedily be given an opportunity to go there myself.¹⁹

The expectation of the unions that the sponsored Members should give special attention to working class or general trade union questions was recognized throughout the Party. For example, in the years immediately following World War I, when the Parliamentary Labor Party was seeking to become the recognized Opposition, the National Executive Committee sought to help the Members of Parliament in whatever way it could. Acting on behalf of the Executive Committee, Sidney Webb sought to make arrangements to provide material

¹⁹Clynes, Vol. I, p. 99. Cf. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 214. One Member of the 1959-1964 Parliament, Ellis Smith, echoed Clynes by saying: "We came here so that we could secure a better life for the working classes in particular and for the people in general." Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 612, col. 118 (October 27, 1959).

Some unions were quite explicit about the class orientation. For example, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers' leaders in 1930 had to remind the rank and file members of the union that their sponsored Members of Parliament represented the whole working class and not just the woodworkers. T. J. Connelly, The Woodworkers, 1860-1960

on various questions "not connected with trade unionism" to the Parliamentary Party.²⁰ Trade union affairs, obviously, were outside the competence of the non-trade union wing of the party.

On the other hand, a particular union orientation was expressed by J. H. Thomas when he wrote, "Throughout the whole of my life I had never done anything but work on the railways for the railwaymen. My life was dedicated to their interests."²¹ Perhaps in contrast, a constituency orientation was suggested by Aneurin Bevan when he wrote:

I do not represent the F. B. I. [Federation of British Industries] or the T. U. C. [Trades Union Congress]. I happen to represent constituents in Ebbw Vale. When I go back to my constituents I expect them to hold me to account for what I have done, and I do not expect if they disagree with anything I have done to be able to explain it away by saying that I did it on the instruction of some outside body.²²

(London: Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, 1960), p. 82. Cf. J. E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 488.

²⁰Margaret I. Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-1924 (London: Longmans, Green, 1952), pp. 142-143. Entry for January 14, 1919.

²¹J. H. Thomas, My Story (London: Hutchinson, 1937) pp. 196-197. Cf. "'What I am pointing out in this,' said Walter Smith, who had lost his seat at the 1931 election, to the 1932 Union Conference, 'the fundamental basis upon which any political movement can be built up in this country is the Trade Union movement, and the man who does not recognize his responsibility to his trade organization does not understand his Labour movement. It is the first fundamental expression of working class opinion towards the interest of themselves and their class.'" Walter Smith speaking to the 1932 conference of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives and quoted in Fox, p. 472. Note here the casual identification of the interests of a particular union and the entire working class as the same thing. Cf. Harrison, p. 292.

²²Quoted in Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan: A Biography (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1962), pp. 415-416. The congruence of class,

The tendency of the trade unions to look on their sponsored Members of Parliament as representatives of the sponsoring unions' interests will be discussed further in the following two chapters when we give further attention to the behavioral problems which resulted from this role confusion on the part of the trade union sponsored Members in the House of Commons. Even within the common ideological and institutional framework of the Labor Party, they were not freed from conflicting expectations with regard to the proper legislative role that they should follow. The resulting conflict occasionally saw particular unions doing their utmost to insure that the sponsored Members acted in accord with their sponsoring unions' position. Only with the passage of considerable time and the increased acceptance of the processes of consultation, were the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament started on the road toward freedom from such union pressures. This increased freedom became more evident in the years after 1945 as the unions entered the symbolic phase of interest representation.

THE SPONSORED MEMBERS AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY

The change in the nature of the trade union representation in the Parliamentary Labor Party was accompanied by other changes in the Labor Party both within and without the House of Commons. Some Labor

constituency, and union pressures in mining constituencies should, of course, be kept in mind when reading Bevan's comment. Bevan also had a high degree of purely personal support in his constituency. See Arthur Horner, Incorrigible Rebel (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1960), p. 64.

Party intellectuals felt an increased need to enter Parliament to help the Parliamentary Party now that the top union leaders were no longer found there. It was this factor, for example, which led Sydney Webb to agree to stand for Parliament in 1920.²³ The increase in middle class strength within the party which this represented was supplemented by the decline of the Liberal Party in the years after World War I. Many former Liberals, cast adrift by the decline of their party, found it easier to support the new Labor Party rather than their traditional opponents, the Conservatives.²⁴ If the Labor Party was to keep this new support, it would have to make some effort to tone down those aspects of its program which disturbed the middle class,²⁵ and it would have to make some effort to integrate the new members into the overall structure of the Party. The way had been opened for this integration by the reform of the Party constitution in 1918 and the opening of the Party to individual membership. The prominence given to some of the Liberal

²³Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-1924, p. 176. Entry for February 18, 1920.

²⁴See Catherine Ann Cline, Recruits to Labour: The British Labour Party, 1914-1931 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963); R. E. Dowse, "The Entry of Liberals into the Labour Party, 1914-1920," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, XIII, No. 2 (November, 1961), pp. 78-87.

²⁵Guttsman, p. 236. Beatrice Webb was led to comment on this adherence of the middle classes to the Labor Party as inverse "permeation" -- "the permeation of the Socialist party by the philosophy of the philistine citizen." Margaret I. Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-1932 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 23. Entry for April 12, 1924.

converts in the first two Labor governments suggested that they might be filling the role occupied by the Radicals in the nineteenth century with relation to the early Lib-Lab trade union supported Members.

The enlarged middle class support for the Labor Party and the political success that went with it contributed to conflict within the party. The trade unions tended to look on the party as nothing more than a device for furthering the industrial goals of the unions. This was, after all, the major reason which led them to create the party. The middle class supporters of the party frequently had a somewhat larger view of its role in the British political scene. Increasingly, they came to see the party as a means for transforming the nation according to some sort of blueprint. Even when this view was shared by the union leaders, the trade union representatives tended to emphasize those things which favored their own organizations and members.

The middle class supporters of the party found their home in the constituency parties which had been opened to individual membership in 1918. The trade unions, generally representing the working class elements within the party, made their major on the annual party conference where their bloc votes were usually dominant. The differences between these two groups regarding the goal of the party were thrown into sharp focus when the Labor Party first came into power in 1924. The formal responsibility of the Parliamentary Party to the annual party conference suggested in the party constitution²⁶ was challenged by the idea that the

²⁶Labour Party, Constitution and Standing Orders, "Constitution," Clause IV, paragraph 2; Clause V and Clause VI.

Parliamentary Party was directly answerable to the country via a general election.²⁷ The conflict thus engendered has continued down to the present,²⁸ but the only time that the extra-parliamentary leadership of the party tended to dominate it came in the early 1930's after the decimation of the parliamentary leadership in the 1931 general election.²⁹ During this period, the Trades Union Congress General Council led by Ernest Bevin played a major role in directing the party. Aside from this, however, the party leadership has usually accepted the broader concept of responsibility to the nation as a whole rather than to the party conference or some other extra-parliamentary agency.

Within the Parliamentary Labor Party, the union sponsored Members were organized in the Trade Union Group whose membership after 1924 was restricted to "persons whose candidatures were promoted by Trades Unions."³⁰ The Group seemed to give a central focus and organization to the trade union element, and there seemed little argument that this was an element of the party which had to be listened to with patience. "It was necessary, in forming Labour Governments, or even

²⁷A. L. Williams, "Labour: Today and Tomorrow--2: Who Should Decide Policy," Labour Organizer, XL (1961), p. 125.

²⁸For examples of this conflict, see Colin Cooke, The Life of Richard Stafford Cripps (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), pp. 136-139; Ronald Blythe, The Age of Illusion (London: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 273; Bullock, p. 245; Victor Feather, "Out in the Cold, Cold Snow," Labour Organizer, XXXIII (July, 1954), pp. 123-124.

²⁹Henry Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party (London: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 71-87.

³⁰Robert T. McKenzie, British Political Parties (Second edition; New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 417.

Party Committees, to keep a proper balance between sections, and, in particular, to insure a reasonable representation of trade unionists. If this was not done, there might be a sudden and quite justifiable, outburst of resentment."³¹

The Trade Union Group seldom acted as a pressure group within the Parliamentary Party, but groups of trade union sponsored Members frequently played key roles in the inner workings of the Party. In one instance, in 1922, the preoccupation of some of the trade union representatives with union affairs was one of the factors leading to the election of J. Ramsay MacDonald as Leader and Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party. There was a contest for the post between MacDonald and J. R. Clynes, a trade unionist and official of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. Until 1921, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Party had been elected at the start of each session of Parliament. In 1921, the Party changed its rules to provide that the Chairman should be elected at the end of the session to serve during the next session. Operating under these rules, the Parliamentary Party, acting at the end of the 1921 session of Parliament, elected J. R. Clynes as Chairman for the parliamentary session starting in 1922. The general election of 1922 upset this scheme by almost tripling the number of Labor Members of Parliament. Many of these new Labor Members wanted a voice in deciding who would lead the Party.

³¹Hugh Dalton, Memoirs, (Three volumes; London: Muller, 1953), Vol. I, p. 195.

Of the two candidates for the position of Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party, MacDonald's association with the Independent Labor Party (which had included the bulk of the middle class members of the Party prior to 1918) and his anti-war position during World War I was expected to alienate many of the trade union sponsored Members who still comprised half of the Parliamentary Party. Clynes, on the other hand, had the advantage of being the incumbent and a union sponsored Member. This combination was felt to insure his support by the other trade unionists in the Parliamentary Party and that he would have no difficulty retaining the post of Chairman.³² When the Parliamentary Party voted, however, it was MacDonald who received a majority of the votes. He became Chairman and the potential Prime Minister by a majority of under six votes. Clynes was defeated, not necessarily by a lack of a majority within the Party, but by the fact that over twenty union representatives who might have been expected to give the bulk of their votes to him were unable to attend the meeting of the Parliamentary Party because of union duties.³³ The importance of this failure of these Members to participate fully in the affairs of the Parliamentary Party becomes even more noticeable if it is remembered that it was this

³² Francis Williams, Fifty Years March (London: Odhams Press, 1950), p. 298. Reginald Bassett, Nineteen Thirty-One, Political Crisis (London: Macmillan, 1958), p. 14.

In the leadership contest to select a successor to George Lansbury after the 1935 election, Clement Attlee is reported to have substantial trade union support on the second ballot after Arthur Greenwood withdrew from the race. Roy Jenkins, Mr. Attlee (London: Heinemann, 1948), p. 167.

³³ McKenzie, pp. 351-352.

election in 1922 which opened the way for MacDonald to become the Prime Minister in the first two Labor governments and then to split with the Party in 1931 when he became head of the National Government.

In 1922 the trade union sponsored Members were important for what they failed to do, for their failure to attend the meeting of the Parliamentary Party which elected MacDonald. An example of how trade union activity (rather than lack of activity) could also be crucial came in the 1930's. In a dispute over the Party's attitude toward military rearmament, Hugh Dalton led an attempt to stop the Parliamentary Labor Party from voting against the Service Estimates in 1937. Concerned with the rise of fascism in Europe and the threat that it was thought to have for Britain, Dalton felt that reliance on a pacific approach was insufficient. When the party met to decide its position on this issue, the trade union sponsored Members provided the bulk of Dalton's support.³⁴ The Members sponsored by the railwaymen and some of the Members sponsored by the miners favored Dalton's proposal, but other Members sponsored by the miners opposed it.³⁵ In describing the attempt by his opponents to reverse the decision, Dalton writes:

After the vote there was very violent feeling among the minority. Some of the South Wales Miners, led by Jim Griffiths and Arthur Jenkins, pushed about trying to convene a special miners' meeting and

³⁴Bullock, p. 593. Cf. Williams, Ernest Bevin, p. 203.

³⁵Dalton, Vol. II, pp. 133-134. Dalton notes that some of the railway Members who supported him were unable to attend the meeting of the Parliamentary Party where the question was decided because of union business. This is but another example of the role confusion affecting the union sponsored Members of Parliament.

to commit its vote in a block against the majority decision. Gordon Macdonald of Lancashire, the secretary of the Miners' Group, who was on my side, refused, saying, quite correctly, that the decision had been taken by the only body competent to take it. The South Wales Miners then signed a requisition to him asking him to call a meeting. Thereupon he incited other miners, chiefly from Lancashire and Durham, in the total more numerous than the South Wales group, to sign a counterrequisition against such a meeting, and none was held.³⁶

Had the union sponsored Members given Dalton less steadfast support on this question, the Labor Party might have been stigmatized as the opponent of British rearmament on the eve of World War II.

The First Two Labor Governments and the Crisis of 1931

Trade union sponsored Members played a secondary role in the first two Labor governments. In the 1924 Government, they had only seven out of the twenty seats in the Cabinet, although they comprised over half of the Parliamentary Party. The trade union sponsored Members of Parliament did somewhat better in positions below the Cabinet, but they were still unhappy with their lack of representation.³⁷

³⁶Ibid., p. 136.

³⁷Snowden, Vol. II, pp. 606-608. With regard to this alleged resentment, Lyman says: ". . . their journals give little evidence of it. It was rather when they felt that one of their own men were behaving snobbishly--J. H. Thomas and Frank Hodges, Civil Lord of the Admiralty and former Miners' Federation Secretary, were the leading examples--that the unions became annoyed." R. W. Lyman, The First Labour Government, 1924 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1957), p. 104.

On the other hand, in agreement with Snowden, Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary that Henderson had complained to Sidney Webb that "the trade unions were being too much ignored." Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-24, p. 261. Entry for January 15, 1924.

For a list of all trade union sponsored Members in the 1924 Labor Government, see Appendix II.

The reasons for the relatively low representation of trade union representatives in the 1924 Government were varied. It could be laid to MacDonald's well known dislike for the trade unions.³⁸ It could have been due to the refusal of trade union leaders to quit their unions to serve in the Government.³⁹ Or it could be associated with the generally poor quality of the trade unionists available for service.⁴⁰ It is difficult to give any definitive answer to this question, but the weight of opinion must be given to the last reason stated. "No one of the trade unionists made a distinguished record as Minister . . ."⁴¹ And even

³⁸Williams, Fifty Years March, pp. 304, 321-322. MacDonald's dislike of most of his colleagues is well known. The political implications of MacDonald's attitude is suggested by Stanley Baldwin's biographer who points out that "MacDonald regularly sent Foreign Office papers of consequence to Baldwin, with whom he was at greater ease than he was with many of his colleagues." G. M. Young, Stanley Baldwin (London: Rubert Hart-Davis, 1952), p. 152. Cf. Dalton, Vol. I, p. 288; L. S. Amery, My Political Life (Three volumes; London: Hutchinson, 1953), Vol. III, p. 54.

³⁹Lyman, p. 104.

⁴⁰"On the whole, the trade-union representation was comparatively small--but it was true that there were few suitable trade-union candidates for office." Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party, p. 56.

⁴¹Lyman, p. 230. The difficulties of the trade union representatives in the first Labour Government is suggested in a story reported by Beatrice Webb. Stephen Walsh, an ex-miner, had been appointed Minister of War. The night before they were to receive their Seals of office, Lord Haldane, ". . . carried off Walsh, the ex-miner and present War Minister, to dine with him in order to instruct him how to behave with his Generals, also to see whether he could fit him with a frock coat for the ceremony at B. B. P. next day. . . ." Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-32, p. 1. Entry for January 8, 1924. At least part of Labor's difficulty derived from the fact that they had such limited experience in creating a Government. This applied to trade unionist and middle class Members alike. Clynes comments that the Party leaders were forced to consult Whitaker's Almanack to discover what positions they had to fill. See Clynes, Vol. II, p. 21; Thomas, p. 75.

at the lower levels, Beatrice Webb could make critical comments about "the dull-headed miners" in the Whips' office.⁴²

After the first Labor Government left office at the end of 1924, there was a reassertion of the importance of industrial action within the trade union movement.⁴³ In part, this was a reaction to what the unions considered unfair treatment from the Labor Government.⁴⁴ This increased attention to industrial action led first to "Red Friday" (July 31, 1925) when the miners were able to secure substantial concessions from the Government through the threat of a general strike. This in turn led to the General Strike of 1926 which was attempted as a means to force the Government to accept the miners' proposals for the coal industry through the threat of joint action by the country's major unions. The details of the strike and its immediate aftermath need not concern us here. But we are concerned with the place of the Parliamentary Party (and especially its trade union supported Members) in the events of 1925 and 1926.

The events of these years provide an interesting study of the role confusion of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament. During this period, neither the unions nor the Members could decide exactly

⁴²Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-32, p. 13. Entry for March 15, 1924. Cf. James Johnston, A Hundred Commoners (London: Herbert Joseph, 1931), p. 97.

⁴³Bassett, p. 22.

⁴⁴W. Citrine, Men and Work (London: Hutchinson, 1964), p. 79; V. L. Allen, "The Re-Organization of the Trades Union Congress," British Journal of Sociology, XI (1960), pp. 35-36, 41.

what should be the role of the legislator. The unions apparently expected little help from the Members of Parliament. For example, in the negotiations leading to "Red Friday" in 1925⁴⁵ and during the course of the General Strike itself,⁴⁶ the miners' union either made no attempt to enlist the aid of its parliamentary representatives or it specifically requested them to do nothing in the dispute. When the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament did speak up about the strike and disagree with the union leaders, they were attacked by men such as Ernest Bevin who " . . . made it perfectly clear that this was a trade union show and that the politicians had better keep out."⁴⁷

The only Labor Members of Parliament to play any important role in the events of 1925 and 1926 were the four leaders of the Parliamentary Labor Party: J. Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, J. R. Clynes, and J. H. Thomas. Henderson, Clynes, and Thomas were union sponsored representatives with the latter two still moderately active in their unions, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and the National Union of Railwaymen, respectively. For both men, it was their union position which led to their involvement rather than their place in the House of Commons.⁴⁸ This was especially true in

⁴⁵Julian Symons, The General Strike (London: The Cresset Press, 1957), p. 19.

⁴⁶Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-1932, p. 114. Entry for September 1, 1926.

⁴⁷Bullock, p. 349; Cf. Williams, Ernest Bevin, pp. 132-133.

⁴⁸Clynes, Vol. II, p. 85.

the case of J. H. Thomas.⁴⁹ Since it was increasingly uncommon for active union officials to sit in the House of Commons, there was little opportunity for the bulk of the trade union parliamentary representatives to become actively involved in settling the dispute.

It was fairly clear that the union leaders looked on the sponsored legislators as delegates who should only raise questions when asked to do so by the unions. The fact that the trade unions were divided among themselves simply meant that the Members of Parliament, when trying to serve one master were liable to be criticized by another. This was indicated in the exchange between Bevin and Thomas at a meeting of union officials on April 29, 1926. The meeting

. . . heard Ernest Bevin make a savage attack on the Parliamentary Labour Party for its cowardice in failing to make a statement in the House of Commons about miners' wages. . . . Thomas defended the Parliamentary Party on the ground that they had been specifically asked by the miners not to interfere in an industrial dispute.⁵⁰

Even if the trade union sponsored Members had been trying to do what the unions wanted, there would have been serious questions about which union or unions they should follow. Thus, the lack of agreement among the unions on what they expected the trade union parliamentary representatives to do was one possible source of confusion.

Equally important, if not more so, were the trade union sponsored Members' perception of their clientele's expectations. Some of the

⁴⁹Citrine, pp. 149-204.

⁵⁰Symons, pp. 41-42; Cf. Williams, Ernest Bevin, pp. 132-133.

Members sought to represent their own unions or other unions during the dispute. J. H. Thomas, for example, sought to raise the question of working conditions in the mines at the time of Red Friday in 1925.⁵¹ Joshua Ritson, Member of Parliament of the Durham miners, was very bitter following the General Strike by the failure of the miners' union to make use of their parliamentary representatives.⁵² And when they did seek to speak out in behalf of their union, some of the Members sponsored by the miners found obstacles placed in their way by parliamentary maneuvering. When the House of Commons debated a Soviet offer of aid to the miners during the strike, for example, not one of the miners' sponsored Members was able to "catch the Speaker's eye" despite what seemed like a very considerable commotion in favor of allowing a miners' union sponsored Member to speak.⁵³

On the other hand, some of the trade union sponsored Members implicitly disagreed with their unions by disapproving of the General Strike. This was true of both Thomas and Clynes among others.⁵⁴ Clynes was quite explicit in recognizing a responsibility to the nation as a whole when he wrote, ". . . Labour M. P. s did all they could to

⁵¹Citrine, p. 139.

⁵²Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-1932, p. 139. Entry for April 23, 1927.

⁵³Arnot, Vol. II, p. 465.

⁵⁴Clynes, Vol. II, pp. 75-76; Thomas, pp. 103-105. Citrine, however, reports that Thomas wanted to expand the strike after it began. Citrine, pp. 179-180.

counsel moderation, and not only keep the men within the law, but advise them to have a care for public convenience and national well-being."⁵⁵

During the General Strike, there arose a clear distinction between the industrial wing of the labor movement represented by the trade unions and the Trades Union Congress and the political wing of the movement represented by the Labor Party and including the trade union sponsored parliamentary representatives. By and large, the political wing was on the side lines throughout the dispute. The fact that many Members opposed the strike merely helped to increase the differences between the two wings of the movement.⁵⁶ Throughout the strike, the industrial wing of the labor movement took the lead. "The centre of power in the Labour movement moved during the strike to the TUC headquarters in Eccleston Square, and what was being said in the House of Commons bore little relation to what was going on in the country."⁵⁷ Since the trade union leaders such as Ernest Bevin preferred direct consultation with the Government and did not wish the question brought up in the House of Commons, Parliament led a placid existence during the crisis. As one trade union sponsored Member described it, "In the Commons, we faced an abnormal state of affairs without much excitement."⁵⁸

⁵⁵Clynes, Vol. II, p. 93.

⁵⁶(John Allsebrook) Viscount Simon, Retrospect (London: Hutchinson, 1952), p. 139. Cf. Dalton, Vol. I, p. 163.

⁵⁷Symons, p. 115.

⁵⁸Clynes, Vol. II, p. 83.

The failure of the General Strike caused the labor movement to once more recognize the importance of normal constitutional procedures.⁵⁹ The renewed recognition of the interdependence of the two wings of the labor movement was given added impetus by the harsh treatment handed out to the unions by the Government after the strike. Especially galling to the unions was the Trade Disputes Act of 1927 which had been drawn up without any consultation with union leaders.⁶⁰ The Act attempted to outlaw political strikes, forbid Civil Service Unions to affiliate to any outside bodies such as the Trades Union Congress or the Labor Party, and to generally weaken the unions' political power. Instead of the customary practice of forcing union members who did not want to support the unions' political activity to take the first step to implement their right not to have to pay this political levy ("contracting out"), the Act provided that union members would automatically not have to pay the unions' political levy unless they signified otherwise ("contracting in"). While "contracting out" had meant that the union usually continued to receive the support of the apathetic, "contracting in" meant that they were denied it.

The threat to the trade unions represented by the Trade Disputes Act of 1927 led to an increased political effort on their part and this contributed to the Labor success in the 1929 General Election. Once more the Labor Party was called upon to form a Government, albeit a

⁵⁹Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 95-96.

⁶⁰Bullock, pp. 377-378. Cf. Clynes, Vol. II, p. 92.

minority one. Once more there was an opportunity for the union sponsored Members within the Parliamentary Labor Party to demonstrate their legislative effectiveness.

The top leadership of the Parliamentary Party in 1929 consisted of MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Henderson, Thomas, and Clynes. Of these five, the last three were trade unionists with Clynes and Thomas still active in their unions. All three of these union sponsored Members held high positions in the second Labor Government, but this was not enough to make up for the more general lack of proportional trade union representation in the Government.⁶¹ Included among the 54 major appointments, Snowden reports only 21 trade union sponsored Members.⁶²

That MacDonald's antipathy to the trade unions had not decreased since 1924 is fairly evident. Indeed, one participant in the events of 1929-1931 suggests that MacDonald was deliberately trying to make the parliamentary representatives of the trade unions look bad by not only refusing to appoint more of them to office, but also by deliberately

⁶¹Williams, Fifty Years March, p. 334.

⁶²Snowden, Vol. II, p. 767. Snowden had earlier expressed the wish that the trade union element would be given greater attention in the new Government. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 762.

The exact number of trade union representatives in the second Labor Government is a matter of dispute. Pelling reports a total of only seventeen trade union Members in the Government. See Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism, p. 190. For a list of sixteen trade unionists in the 1929-1931 Government, see Appendix III.

The trade unionists had stronger representation in the Second Labor Government than they had in the first, but this apparently still was not sufficient to satisfy them.

appointing some of them to positions for which they were not qualified.

Herbert Morrison describes one example of this as follows:

I also suspect that MacDonald, resenting the strong Trade Union pressure on him, made some appointments of trade unionists in the hope that they would fail. Ben Turner was a popular Trade Union leader and a member of the I. L. P., but it was unlikely that he could make an outstandingly successful minister. The P. M. made him Secretary for Mines, and as such he had to handle a tricky Mines Bill. It was not long before it was apparent that the Bill would have to be handled by William Graham, President of the Board of Trades, with Ben as subordinate assistant.

There is a story about Turner, possibly apocryphal, which illustrates the situation he was in. He was travelling from the north one Monday in company with other Labour Members, sitting in the corner seat and reading his Bible, as was his habit. Suddenly he looked up and said, "E', lads, what's on in the 'Ouse today?"

His companions looked at him silently until one was able to say, "Don't you know Ben? It's your Mines Bill."⁶³

If nothing else, the story is suggestive of the effectiveness of the Secretary of Mines.

The deepening economic crisis which confronted the second Labor Government was a cause for dissension within the Party. Philip Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, took a conservative stand on budgetary questions. He insisted that the pound sterling had to be protected and that a balanced budget was necessary even at the expense

⁶³Herbert Morrison, Herbert Morrison: An Autobiography (London: Odhams Press, 1960), p. 101. We must be careful of accepting Morrison's comments without question. MacDonald may have made these appointments with the full realization that they were not good ones, but that he had no real choice in the matter. Some trade unionists had to be appointed to major posts, not because of their parliamentary ability, but because of their stature in the trade union movement. Stephen Walsh and Tom Shaw, respectively, the Ministers of War in the first two Labor Governments, are examples of this according to Clement Atlee. See Francis Williams, A Prime Minister Remembers, (London: Heineman, 1961), p. 86.

of reducing welfare payments. In this policy he was seconded by Margaret Bondfield, M.P., the Minister of Labor. Miss Bondfield was a trade unionist, and an officer of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. But this did not stop the bulk of the trade unionists from choosing to respond more to what they felt was their class interest and opposing any cuts in welfare payments. The position of the trade unions on the question was made clear by Arthus Hayday, M.P., another officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union and Chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council in 1931. Hayday placed an amendment on the Order Paper or agenda of the House of Commons which called for an increase in unemployment benefits. Only after much discussion and a very heated speech by Philip Snowden in which he called on the union sponsored Members to rise above their parochial interests and to recognize the needs of the entire nation were the Members led by Hayday persuaded to withdraw their amendment.⁶⁴ When the Cabinet finally decided to actually reduce welfare payments to protect the pound immediately prior to the fall of the second Labor Government, this merely led to considerable dissension within the Cabinet.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Snowden, Vol. II, p. 846. Further trade union discontent with the policy of the Second Labor Government towards unemployment led to Aneurin Bevan's first revolt against the parliamentary leadership. See Foot, pp. 122-123.

⁶⁵The actual attitudes of particular Cabinet ministers toward the cut in welfare programmes is a matter of considerable controversy. After an extended discussion, Bassett concludes that nine Ministers who voted against the cut were Arthus Henderson, William Graham,

Throughout the period that the second Labor Government was in power, it sought to make clear that it was primarily responsible to the nation as a whole. This attitude on the part of the Government aggravated the lack of any strong institutional links between it and the trade unions.⁶⁶ The personal links of Thomas and Clynes were weakened by the fact that while the Government was in power, they were on leaves of absence from their respective unions. Day-to-day contact was thus hampered.

The end of the second Labor Government and the desertion of MacDonald, Snowden, and Thomas all seemed to confirm the personal dislike felt by trade union leaders such as Bevin for the politicians, especially middle class politicians. For often in the debate which followed the end of the second Labor Government, the fact that one of the three chief individuals who left the Party, J. H. Thomas, had been a trade unionist was forgotten. We will have occasion to return to the 1931 crisis in our discussion of relations between the Member of Parliament and his sponsoring union, but for the present we will leave it.

Arthur Greenwood, A. V. Alexander, George Lansbury, Thomas Johnston, William Adamson, Christopher Addison, and J. R. Clynes. Henderson, Adamson, and Clynes were trade union sponsored Members. Three other trade union sponsored Members, Thomas, Bondfield, and Thomas Shaw, apparently voted for the cut. See Bassett, p. 139. In his Memoirs, Clynes denies that the Cabinet approved the cut. Clynes, Vol. II, p. 196.

⁶⁶Citrine, p. 281.

The 1920's and the first two Labor governments were something of an object lesson to the trade unions. Paralleling the unions' lack of influence with John Burns, prior to World War I and the Labor ministers during the War, they were finding that having trade union representatives at the top levels of decision making was still not the same as securing favorable decisions. Allen describes their experience as follows:

Trade union influence in the [first two Labor] Governments was negligible, for even the Ministers who had been union leaders did their utmost to forget their past. The miners exerted the greatest influence on the Government, but then there were a large number of miners in the Parliamentary Labour Party. The influence of other unions was almost non-existent.⁶⁷

As the Labor Party was forced to adopt attitudes and policies more in keeping with the national responsibilities which derived from its taking power the importance given to the particular interests of the trade unions was correspondingly reduced.

The 1930's offer little material for our discussion of the place of the trade unionists within the Parliamentary Labor Party. The Parliamentary Party was decimated in the 1931 General Election. The trade union dominated remnant in the House of Commons did its best to oppose the national government and to protect what it saw as the rightful position of the working classes.⁶⁸ But this could not hide the fact of a

⁶⁷V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, Green, 1960), p. 301.

⁶⁸The miners' Members, as instructed by the Miners Federation, took the lead within the Parliamentary Party in opposing the National Government of MacDonald. They were "the hard core of resistance." Arnot, Vol. III, p. 77.

long term decline of trade union influence and power within the Parliamentary Party. When there was a contest for the position of leader and chairman of the Party following the 1935 election, for the first time there was no trade union sponsored Member involved. J. R. Clynes was offered the position and declined on account of age.⁶⁹ The three candidates were Clement Attlee, Herbert Morrison, and Arthur Greenwood. The obvious trade union candidates would have been Ernest Bevin, but he continued to refuse to enter Parliament.

World War II

The crisis of World War II brought into the House of Commons the man whom most observers suggest as the greatest trade unionist ever to serve in the House of Commons.⁷⁰ This was Ernest Bevin, creator and General Secretary of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers, from 1921 until 1940. Bevin's co-option into the wartime coalition Government as Minister of Labor and then into Parliament marked a drastic shift in his own position with regard to politics and is symptomatic of the seriousness of the wartime crisis.

⁶⁹Clynes, Vol. II, p. 228. Above, p. 78, for reference to trade union support for Clement Attlee. Attlee, a master at balancing opposing interests within the party, had a trade unionist as a Parliamentary Private Secretary for most of the time that he served as leader. Clement Attlee, As It Happened (London: Heinemann, 1954), p. 81; Jenkins, Mr. Attlee, p. 188. This practice had been begun by MacDonald and was continued by both Hugh Gaitskill and Harold Wilson.

⁷⁰Harrison, p. 269.

As Minister of Labor in the coalition Government, Bevin's job was to insure that the unions gave their utmost for the British war effort. His policies brought him into conflict with the trade union movement and its parliamentary representatives again and again. Aneurin Bevan, D. R. Grenfell (Minister of Mines), and other Members sponsored by the miners were especially critical of Bevin's handling of the labor problems facing the mining industry.⁷¹ Confronted by conflicting demands by the military and industry for manpower, Bevin's heavy handed methods of operation did not lend themselves to blind support on the part of his fellow trade unionists, but they did get the job done.

Bevin's contribution to the British war effort and to helping to insure the general acceptance of the trade unions as a major interest group within British society remains to be written. We do know that Bevin was able to extend the practice of consultation between the Government and the union which had begun on a limited basis in World War I into a host of different advisory bodies dealing with many problems far removed from the field of industrial relations.⁷² One of Bevin's

⁷¹Foot, Vol. I, pp. 356-358, 441-443, 447-457. It was precisely because Churchill felt that Bevin could handle the unions and insure their whole-hearted support for the British war effort that he had brought Bevin into the Cabinet. Despite some criticism, it would seem that Churchill's confidence was not misplaced.

⁷²See Allen, Trade Unions and the Government, p. 12. For a listing of the Government bodies which included Trades Union Congress representatives in 1957-1958, see Ibid., pp. 41-43.

major critics during the war was Aneurin Bevan who was to emerge as leader of the left wing of the Party in the years following World War II, a most curious position for a trade unionist.

The Labor Party in Power, 1945-1951: The Growth of Symbolic Representation

The years since World War II may be said to mark the start of yet another phase of parliamentary representation for the trade unions. The institutional framework provided by the Labor Party and the formal rules concerning sponsoring which had been adopted during the 1930's changed very little. But the function of trade union sponsorship and the type of personnel being sponsored did change again.

The election of a Labor Government in 1945 with an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons marked the high point of Labor's "fifty year march." While the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament were back in higher numbers than ever before, it was also true that their relative position within the Parliamentary Labor Party was worse than it had ever been before. Less than one-third of the members of the Parliamentary Party was sponsored by trade unions.⁷³ The unions were confronted with the realization of a number of their long-sought goals. The public ownership of the railroads, the mines, the steel industry, and other areas of industry was now a very real possibility. And the trade union spokesmen in the Parliamentary Party

⁷³Above, Table 4, p. 62.

were in a critical position to influence the course of legislation bringing this about. As it turned out, their influence was usually limited to changing details and to raising matters that the unions had forgotten in their consultation with the ministries drawing up the legislation or had failed to secure at that stage.

The outstanding trade union representative in the 1945 Labor Government was, of course, Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary. Initially, the new Labor Government had a higher proportion of trade union sponsored Members in it than there were in the Parliamentary Party as a whole.⁷⁴ Even by 1951 when their representation had dropped, they could hardly claim to be under-represented. The union sponsored Members within the Parliamentary Party and in the Government provided useful balast against the left wing of the Party,⁷⁵ but they seldom appeared as a positive collective force within its councils. Once again, they seemed unable to play a dominant role in the events which surrounded them.

That they did play some part in shaping the legislative program of the Labor Government, there can be little doubt. That this part was

⁷⁴For a listing of trade unionists in the 1945-1950 Government at its formation, see Appendix IV. Those trade unionists in the Government at the dissolution in 1951 are given in Appendix V. The lack of more trade union representation in the Government may have been due to the failure of the unions to allow their officials to serve. Cf. Williams, A Prime Minister Remembers, p. 92.

⁷⁵Guttsman, p. 269. Cf. R. K. Alderman, "Discipline in the Parliamentary Labour Party, 1945-1951," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1965), p. 299.

very limited is something else of which there can be little doubt. The strengths and weaknesses of the trade union parliamentary representatives can be illustrated in a number of instances, but we shall restrict ourselves to two.

In the 1945 General Election, some 23 Labor Members were elected to the House of Commons with the sponsorship of one or another of the three railroad unions, the National Union of Railwaymen, the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Transport Salaried Staffs Association. Only two of these 23 Members held office in the Government and neither was associated with the Ministry of Transport. The Members sponsored by the railwaymen played no part in the actual drafting of the legislation to nationalize the railroads, but they were involved in its passage through the House of Commons. They sat on the House of Commons' Standing Committee where the Bill was considered in detail, and were able to secure some minor changes or amendments on the sections of the Bill involving working conditions.⁷⁶ They were unable to persuade the Minister of Transport to accept all of their changes, however, and had to be satisfied with what he was willing to grant.

Another incident concerning the influence of the trade unionists in the Parliamentary Party has recently come to light. In the 1951

⁷⁶Philip Bagwell, The Railwaymen (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), pp. 600-602. On the question of steel nationalization, Pugh fails to mention any sponsored Members. See Pugh, pp. 589-593.

Budget it was proposed to increase the retirement fund contributions of men over 65 years of age and women over 60 years of age so that they might have increased pensions when they did finally retire. This was resented by the trade union sponsored Members "who regarded it as destroying the principles of equal benefit for equal contributions, and as penalizing many of those who could not stay at work after the ages of 65 (men) and 60 (women)."⁷⁷ The Trade Union Group demanded the presence of the Prime Minister at one of their meetings and insisted that the Budget be changed or modified. If the Government had not been willing to modify its stand, there is a real possibility that "the trade unionists would have followed Mr. Bevan's lead into hostility to the Government."⁷⁸

The Trade Union Group within the Parliamentary Party became somewhat moribund in the 1950's. The achievement of many of the long time goals of the unions involving public ownership and the erection of the welfare state by the 1945-1951 Labor Governments tended to weaken the public justification of sponsorship. Of course, it did not eliminate such justification or the perceived need of the unions for parliamentary representation. But frequently the trade union sponsored Members found themselves bypassed by their unions who preferred to go directly to the Government, thus taking advantage of their consultative

⁷⁷ Francis Boyd, "How Labour Was Saved in 1951," The Guardian (London) (July 1, 1964), p. 10.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

status. This tendency was increased in the period after 1951 when the Labor Party was in opposition and the trade union parliamentary spokesmen no longer had close personal or party ties with the Government.⁷⁹ Parliamentary representation became increasingly symbolic as the unions acquired increased confidence in their status as consultants.

Despite their consultative status, however, the unions did not place sole reliance on it to secure concessions from the Government. They occasionally continued to make use of their sponsored Members when legislation came up for debate in the House of Commons or when sending deputations, outside of the regular consulting channels to see individual members of the Government. An example of the continued use of debate came in 1954 when the Members sponsored by the miners' union played an active part in the Government's Safety in Mines Bill.⁸⁰ Whether such intervention is actually necessary, of course, is something else. Stewart points out that some unions, including the miners, feel that they have to find something for their sponsored Members to do even if alternative points of access to the Government are available.⁸¹

⁷⁹Despite the long period of Conservative dominated governments between 1951 and 1964, there was little change in the unions' consultative status. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government, p. 74. This, of course, refers to the formal position of the unions, and not necessarily to the amount of influence they might have had.

⁸⁰Horner, pp. 205-206. Cf. The Guardian (London) (March 12, 1964).

⁸¹J. D. Stewart, British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 77.

THE TECHNICIANS AND WHITE COLLAR UNIONS

The basis for this new symbolic era of trade union parliamentary representation had been laid in the 1930's with the Hastings Agreement which limited the amount of money a union could offer in support of its sponsored candidates.⁸² The feeble start toward the financial independence of the Constituency Labor Parties, symbolized by the Hastings Agreement, was extended in the mid-1950's through the recommendations of the Wilson Report which urged increased financial independence of the Constituency Parties.⁸³ This meant that it was more difficult for unions to buy support. Instead, if the trade unions wished to have their nominees adopted by the Constituency Party, they found that they must put forward members who had the qualities desired by the local Selection Committee. It began to be increasingly difficult to guarantee that superannuated union work horses would be acceptable as parliamentary candidates.

This development affecting candidate selection was accompanied by changes in the trade union world itself. The dominance of the old industrial unions was starting to be challenged by newer white collar organizations. The miners and railwaymen were in decline while unions

⁸²Harrison, p. 80.

⁸³The official title of the Wilson Report is: The Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on Party Organization (1955). The sub-committee's views on constituency finance resulted in the recommendation that individual dues and group affiliation fees be increased. See Wilson Report, p. 34 (paragraph 144, recommendation 35).

such as the Association of Supervisory Staff, Executives, and Technicians, the National Union of Public Employees, the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, and the Postoffice Workers were on the rise.⁸⁴ These changes were reflected in the composition of the trade union group in the House of Commons. In Table 5, we have shown the composition of the trade union section of the Parliamentary Party since 1918 and how it has and is being changed.

The figures in Table 5 suggest there is a general change in the nature of the unions which are sponsoring Members of the House of Commons. Such old standbys as the textile workers, the boot and shoe operatives, and the woodworkers are disappearing from the Palace of Westminster. Among the railroad unions a change in emphasis is taking place. The railwaymen and the locomotive engineers which include the bulk of the railroad's manual employees are being replaced by the Transport Salaried Staff Association which organizes the railways' clerical workers. Other unions which are gaining ground include the shop workers, the general workers (especially the Transport and General Workers Union), and the engineers. The growth of the railway clerks and shopworkers is in line with the general shift in the labor force from heavy industry to service and clerical occupations. The

⁸⁴See PEP, "Trade Union Membership," Planning, XXVIII, No. 463 (July 2, 1962), pp. 153-200; PEP, "The Structure and Organization of British Trade Unions," Planning, XXIX, No. 477 (December 2, 1963), pp. 433-484; John Hughes, Change in the Trade Unions (London: Fabian Society, 1964).

TABLE 5

UNION REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT, 1918-1964

TYPE OF UNION	UNION	ELECTION												
		1918	1922	1923	1924	1929	1931	1935	1945	1950	1951	1955	1959	1964
UNSKILLED UNIONS	Miners	23	40	43	40	42	26	32	34	37	36	34	31	28
	N. U. R.	1	3	3	3	8	--	5	12	10	9	8	5	6
	U. T. F. W. A.	4	3	3	2	4	--	--	3	2	1	1	1	1
	N. U. A. W.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	1	2	1
	B. I. S. K. T. A.	--	--	--	--	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1
	Subtotal	28	46	49	45	58	27	38	52	52	49	46	41	37
SKILLED UNIONS	A. S. W.					6	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	--
	N. U. B. S. O.					2	--	--	4	4	1	--	--	--
	Boilermakers				1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
	A. S. L. E. F.					1	--	1	1	2	2	2	3	1
	E. T. U.								1	1	1	--	--	1
	Subtotal				1	10	2	4	10	7	7	4	4	2
GENERAL UNIONS	T. G. W. U.	4	4	5	6	13	1	7	17	16	14	14	14	21
	N. U. G. M. W.	1	6	3	3	6	2	6	10	6	6	4	4	9
	A. E. U.					3	2	3	4	8	8	6	8	17
	Subtotal	5	10	8	9	22	5	16	31	30	28	24	26	47

GENERAL UNIONS	Subtotal		1	10	2	4	10	7	7	1	1	2
	T. S. S. A. U. S. D. A. W. U. P. W.	Subtotal	1	10	2	4	10	7	7	1	1	2
WHITE COLLAR UNIONS	T. S. S. A.											
	U. S. D. A. W.											
	U. P. W.											
	Subtotal	4	4	5	13	6	13	1	7	17	16	14
	Subtotal	5	10	8	22	7	22	5	10	31	30	28
	T. S. S. A.											
	U. S. D. A. W.											
	U. P. W.											
	Subtotal											
	Others	10	22	32	13	--	8	9	6	6	6	15
	Grand Total	49	85	98	114	35	78	120	111	108	95	120

Sources

Martin Harrison, Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), p. 267; G. D. H. Cole, A History of the Labour Party Since 1914 (London: Routledge, Regan Paul, 1948), pp. 87, 130, 155, and 171; H. A. Clegg, General Union (Oxford: Blackwells, 1954), p. 304; Norman McKillop, The Lighted Flame (London: Thomas Nelson, 1950), p. 164; Labour Party Conference, Report (1960), p. 6; Labour Party Conference, Report (1964), p. 4.

Note:

The blanks for some unions in the early years does not mean that they had no members in the House of Commons. It merely means that we found no explicit reference had been given to such representatives. If they had any, they would be included under the "Other" category.

growth of the general unions and the Amalgamated Engineers Union (which is taking on the appearance of a general union as it expands the groups which it is willing to organize) might be viewed as exceptions to the general shift away from heavy industry, but their gains in parliamentary representation must be viewed against the particular background of each union and the nature of the men they are sponsoring.

Since 1956 when Frank Cousins became the union's General Secretary, the Transport and General Workers have been following an aggressive policy towards sponsorship. Seeking to increase their parliamentary representations, they have not always been too insistent on securing typical products of the working class with long experience in the union to sponsor. This policy began to pay dividends between 1959 and 1964 when the union adopted a number of sitting Members such as Anthony Greenwood, Anthony Probert, and Dr. Jeremy Bray to increase the size of its parliamentary panel. In the 1964 general election, the Transport Workers sponsored a total of 21 successful candidates. The change in the make up of the union's parliamentary panel has not always been welcomed by the union membership.⁸⁵

In the Amalgamated Engineers Union, there is a similar emphasis on increasing the size of the union's Parliamentary group. Distaining to adopt the Transport Workers' practice of "buying" Members,⁸⁶

⁸⁵The Daily Telegraph (London) (February 26, 1964).

⁸⁶The Amalgamated Engineering Union sponsored Members of Parliament interviewed in the summer of 1964 were especially bitter about the Transport and General Workers' Union activities in this regard.

the engineers have launched an extensive, and expensive, selection program within the union to train rank and file members for parliamentary careers. If they can pass the rigorous examinations which are part of the program, the union hopes that its nominees will then prove acceptable to the constituencies and be qualified to serve in the House of Commons. The precise reason behind the Engineer's adoption of this selection procedure is not clear. It received extensive support from the union's President, Sir William Carron, and its General Secretary (since 1964), James Conway. But it stands in sharp contrast to the tremendous emphasis on electoral procedures found elsewhere in the engineers' union.⁸⁷ An attempt to link the program with the effort to weaken the degree of Communist influence within the union found little supporting evidence.

The changing nature of the unions' parliamentary representation is particularly reflected in the history of the miners' representation. The National Union of Mineworkers (and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain prior to 1945) has traditionally had the largest single group of union sponsored Members in the House of Commons. Since they represented the industry which had pioneered the direct parliamentary representation of labor, this seemed only right and proper.

⁸⁷The importance of electoral procedures in the Amalgamated Engineering Union is indicated in a recent press comment that about the only thing which could be done in the union without an election was to remove the filing cabinet at union headquarters. "Fighting the Rules," The Observer (London) (May 2, 1965), p. 40.

But even the miners seem to be on the wane. Inspection of Figure 2 indicates that the miners have passed their peak in terms of parliamentary representation. Indeed, allowing for the debacle of 1931 and the gradual recovery from it, we can see a decline which dates back into the 1920's. By 1964 the miners still remained the largest sub-group of trade union representatives in the House, but the Transport Workers and the Engineers were rapidly closing the gap. The decline in the miners' representation is a reflection of the gradual decline of the coal industry and the shrinking membership of the miners' union. The refusal of the miners to make any major changes in their selection procedures for nominees merely places them at even more of a disadvantage at constituency selection conferences.

The new trade union sponsored Members of Parliament who began to appear in the years since 1945 were a distinctly different type of personnel from their predecessors in the second phase of union parliamentary representation.⁸⁸ The "workers by brain" were replacing the "workers by hand." The new men were frequently better educated than their predecessors. A man like Jeremy Bray, with a Ph. D. in Mathematics from Harvard, is merely an extreme example of this

⁸⁸The differences between the social backgrounds of the Conservative and Labor Members of Parliament is reflected in the reported comment by one Conservative that the 1945 group of Laborites "... look like a lot of damned constituents!" See A. P. Herbert, Independent Member (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1950), p. 371. It is the traditional background of the trade unionists that make the difference between the two parties so apparent. Below, pp. 271-275.

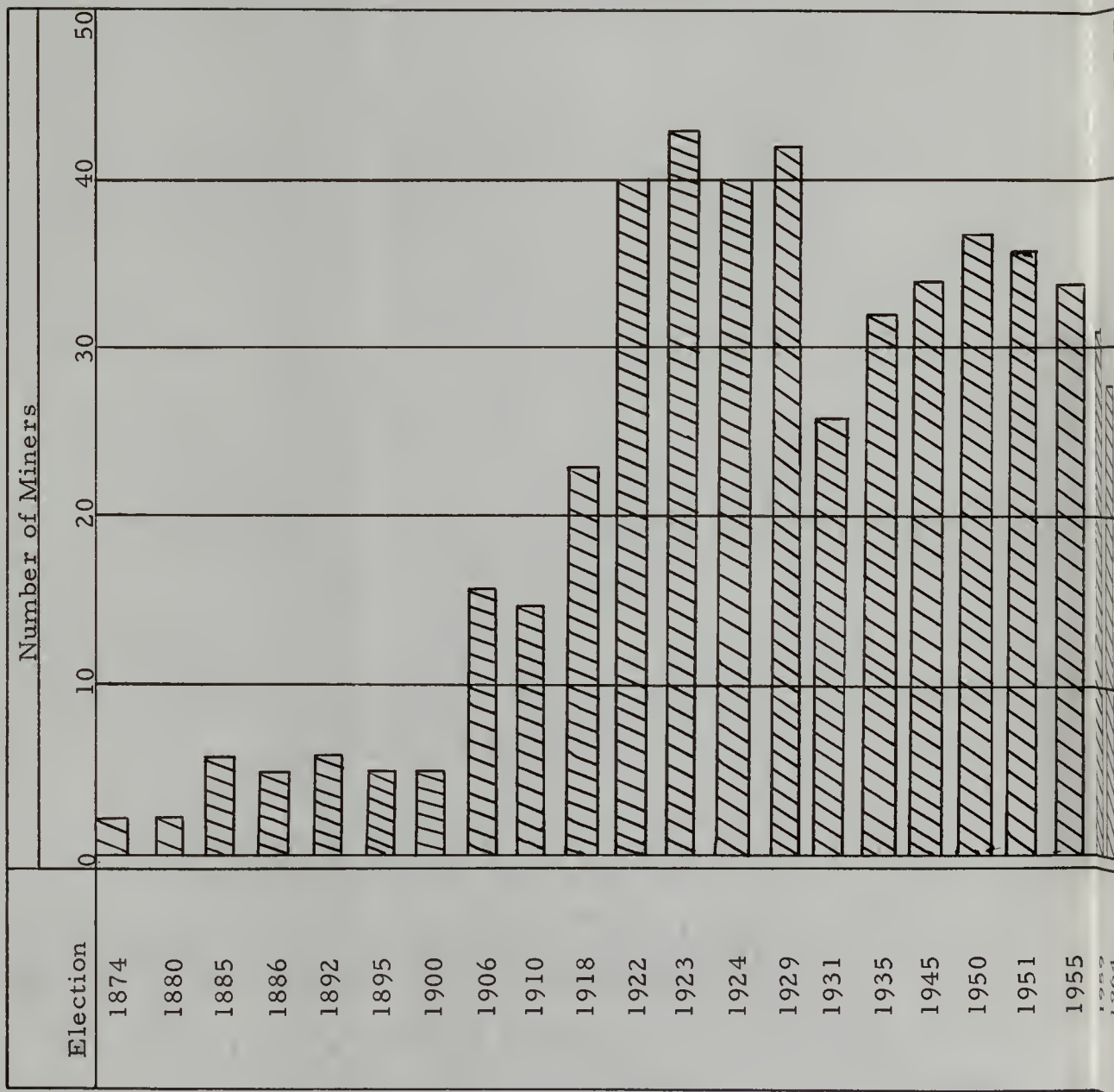


FIG. 2. — MINERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1874-1964



Number of Miners

Fig. 2. --MINERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1874-1964

Sources

The data presented in Figure 2 is taken from the following sources: R. Page Arnot, A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949-1960), Vol. I, pp. 295-296, 365-369; Vol. II, pp. 550-551 for the years 1874 to 1935. Page Arnot does not give separate figures for the two elections of 1910.

Martin Harrison, The Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), p. 267 for the years 1929 to 1959.
Labour Party Conference, Report (1964), p. 4 for 1964.

The figures after 1910 include only those Mining sponsored Members of Parliament elected under the auspices of the Labor Party. The figure for 1910 includes T. Burt, C. Fenwick, and J. Wilson who did not sign the Labor Party Constitution when the Miners' Federation affiliated to the Party in 1909. The figure for 1906 includes five Members not covered by the Pickard scheme adopted by the Federation in 1902.

According to J. H. Stuart Reid there were ten miners elected in the first election of 1910 and seventeen miners were successful in the second election of 1910. See J. H. Stuart Reid, The Origins of the British Labour Party (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 118.

trend.⁸⁹ It is still too soon to tell whether this trend will continue. If it does, there will be few who could quarrel with the reporter who wrote about "The Death of a Hero": the man in the cloth cap.⁹⁰

The new union sponsored Members of Parliament are more likely to come out of the unions' research departments than straight from the mine or factory. The ultimate effect of this change remains to be felt since the older type of representation is passing from the scene very slowly. But by the late 1950's and early 1960's, the change had been recognized by the sponsored Members themselves and they were not happy about it.⁹¹ An attempt will be made in the following chapters to analyze the initial results of the changing function and form of parliamentary representation on the relations between the

⁸⁹Unions are able to find men such as Bray or Anthony Greenwood to sponsor because of the Labor Party rule that requires all individual members of the Party to belong to the appropriate trade union if they are eligible. Eligibility is very broadly defined by many unions, especially the white collar unions. See A. Howard, "Trade Unions and Labour," Manchester Guardian (July 8, 1959). For a strong condemnation of this practice and a description of the absurdities that result from it, see Bryan Magee, The New Radicalism (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), pp. 157-158. Cf. in general, G. Cyriax, "Labour and the Unions," Political Quarterly, XXXI, No. 3 (July-September, 1960), p. 331.

⁹⁰Cross-Bencher, "The Death of a Hero," Sunday Express (London) (June 7, 1959). Above, p. 67.

⁹¹"Still it is a fact that something will go out of our movement if we fail to keep up our quota of trade union Members of Parliament, of those who have dirtied their hands, done the hard jobs in the factory, on the railway, or in the mines; who have used the tools, earned the rate for the job, walked the stones in unemployment or on strike." Charles Pannell, "Twenty A.E.U. M.P.s Next Time," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (April, 1957), p. 107. Pannell's sentiments

unions and their sponsored Members of Parliament in the fifth symbolic phase of interest representation.⁹²

in this regard are particularly interesting since he himself is frequently spoken of as one of the new breed of trade union sponsored Members of Parliament.

⁹²In a very real sense, the new trade union sponsored Members who were starting to appear in the 1950's and 1960's represent the final realization of the Webbs' comments on "professional representatives." Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Industrial Democracy (New edition; London: Longmans, Green, 1911), pp. 65-71.

CHAPTER III

UNION-MEMBER RELATIONS: THE PROBLEMS OF MANY MASTERS

POLITICAL RECRUITMENT OF TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

The process by which trade unionists become Members of Parliament can be divided into four distinct stages.¹ First, within the individual union a decision is made as to which of its members it would be prepared to sponsor as parliamentary candidates.² Second, from the list of eligible nominees, the responsible official or officials

¹The basic conceptual framework with regard to political recruitment used here is borrowed from the work of Lester G. Seligman. Seligman divides the overall process of political recruitment into two phases. In the first phase, the eligibility of potential nominees is determined by a complex political and social screening process. Having certified the eligibility of the potential nominees, they are then offered for selection as the candidate or representative in the second phase. See L. G. Seligman, "Recruitment in Politics," PROD, I, No. 4 (1958), pp. 14-17; L. G. Seligman, "Political Recruitment and Party Structure," American Political Science Review, LV (1961), pp. 77-86; and L. G. Seligman, "Elite Recruitment and Political Development," Journal of Politics, XXVI (1964), 612-626. Seligman's "certification of eligibility" corresponds to the first two stages in the recruitment of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament. The "selection" phase corresponds to the third and fourth stages discussed above.

²It could be argued that there is another stage in this recruitment process, the stage when the union submits the names of those whom it

within the union select a name to be placed before the constituency selection conference in constituencies thought attractive by the union. In some unions, these two stages take place simultaneously as the union leaders can select the name of any union member to be placed before the chosen Constituency Labor Party. Third, the constituency party selects a prospective parliamentary candidate from the nominees of various components of the party including individual trade unions, the Co-operative Party, and other affiliated groups. Finally, the candidate goes before the electorate at the time of the general or by-election. In keeping with this study's overall focus on trade union sponsored Members of Parliament, we are most interested in the first two stages of this recruitment process when the individual unions determine the eligibility of those whom they are willing to sponsor.

The first stage of the political recruitment of trade union sponsored Members of Parliament involves an internal union decision regarding which of its members it is willing to sponsor. Three major methods are used to make this choice. First, the traditional democratic method of election. Using a variety of techniques including a mail ballot of all union members, voting at branch meetings, or voting by

might want to sponsor to the Labor Party for the party's approval and the inclusion of these names on the party's list of approved potential nominees. This is merely another substep in the certification of eligibility and is not directly relevant to our discussion. For a discussion of union selection procedures, see Martin Harrison, Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), pp. 279-285; Austin Ranney, Pathways to Parliament (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 223-224.

the delegates to the union's conference, the union members share in deciding who the union will consider sponsoring. Unions using electoral procedures for this stage of the recruitment process include the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers,³ some of the components of the National Union of Mineworkers, the Transport Salaried Staffs Association and the United Patternmakers Association. In most cases, this electoral procedure does not determine whether or not a man will be sponsored. It only determines that he is eligible for sponsorship.

A second method used by unions to decide who will be eligible for sponsorship is selection by examination. This is a more recent development in use since World War II. Selection by examination is one means that unions are using to insure that their nominees will continue to find favor before constituency parties. As pioneered by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the procedure involves attendance at weekend schools, the systematic study of current political issues, and repeated practice in public speaking and debate. Eligible prospective nominees are chosen from all who undergo the program by a series of examinations which are graded by the union and Party leadership. Once selected as a prospective nominee, the Engineers give the individual even more training in areas such as public speaking

³ Within the Shopworkers' union, there is occasional rank and file criticism of the electoral procedures. See, for example, the letter from Len Gabbitas, "Grooming for Parliament," New Dawn, XVII (1963), p. 319.

to insure that he will be prepared to meet the selection conferences of Constituency Labor Parties.⁴ Other unions which have adopted variations on this procedure or have shown interest in the Engineer's own program include the British Iron, Steel, and Kindred Trades Association, the National Union of Public Employees, and the Post-office Workers.⁵

In the third method of determining who will be the union's eligible prospective nominees, the decision making authority is centralized at the top in the union's own leadership. These unions allow their leaders to select any member of the union whom the leaders think qualified to be the union nominee before a Constituency Party. This is the procedure followed by the Transport and General Workers' Union and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. In effect, these unions combine the first two stages of the recruitment process. And even in the unions which do have the separate first stage, the union leaders usually retain the authority to decide which of the eligible nominees will be put forward as the union's official nominee

⁴Most of the discussion of the Engineers' selection procedure is based on an interview with James Conway, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union, August 5, 1964. Public discussions of the procedure may be found in: Anthony Howard, "Parliament and the Unions," New Statesman (March 29, 1963), p. 446; Colin McGlashan, "Choosing a Candidate: Union Exams for Would-be M. P. s," The Observer (London) (April 25, 1965), p. 9; Charles Pannell, "Twenty A. E. U. M. P. s Next Time," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (April, 1957), p. 107.

⁵The Times (London) (March 22, 1965), p. 6.

In the few unions where this authority is not retained by the leadership, local branches of the union are allowed to make the decision concerning whom the union will sponsor. This is the case in the National Union of Vehicle Builders where the union agreed (after its initial success in the 1959 General Election) to sponsor any three of its members who were adopted by Constituency parties.⁶ A variation on this is used in some components of the miners' union where the branches of the union found in a mining constituency are allowed to select the union's nominee for that constituency.⁷

All other unions sponsoring successful candidates at the time of the 1959 General Election provided for the final decision on sponsoring to be made by the union leadership. In those unions using the initial stage of election or selection by examination, the discretion of the union leadership is limited but by no means eliminated. In those unions which do not use these initial procedures, the union leadership is under almost no restriction as to which of the union members might be selected for sponsoring.

It is in this second stage of the recruitment process that the unions are able to exercise considerable control over their sponsored members. This second stage is repeated prior to each General Election. Thus, the union could initially decide to sponsor a candidate,

⁶Interview with H. P. H. Gourlay, M. P. , July 28, 1964.

⁷This is the rule in the Northumberland and South Wales areas of the National Union of Mineworkers.

and, at a later date, could refuse to continue to support him. Indeed, in some instances, the unions are actually required by their own rules to cease support of their sponsored members after they have reached a certain age (about 65 in most instances). Rules requiring this are found in the National Union of Railwaymen, the Durham miners, and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers.⁸

Of more importance than this retirement provision is the use of the union's power to decide to sponsor or not sponsor particular individuals because of their political or industrial views or behavior. Despite their denials, this power has traditionally been the means through which the unions have sought to eliminate those Members of Parliament whose concept of their legislative role was no longer in accord with that held by the union. The cases of conflict between union

⁸ An example of this took place in 1964 when W. Ainsley and W. Blyton, both sponsored by the Durham Miners, were required to retire because of their ages. The inflexibility of the rule is suggested by the fact that Blyton could have stood again had the General Election been in June rather than in October. Interview with William Blyton, M. P., July 21, 1964. Ainsley's own adoption as a sponsored candidate of the National Union of Mineworkers had come in 1955 when another sponsored Member, J. D. Murray, had been forced to retire because of his age. See Ranney, pp. 223-224.

In another case, involving the National Union of Railwaymen in 1955, one of their sponsored members, Mr. Balfour, was dropped from the union's list of sponsored candidates but was still re-adopted by his constituency party and re-elected to the House of Commons. Interview with Charles Howell, M. P., July 29, 1964.

In a similar situation, Walter Monslow, M. P., sponsored by the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen during the term of the 1959-1964 Parliament, successfully stood for re-election in 1964 without official union support. Interview with Walter Monslow, M. P., July 23, 1964.

and Member of Parliament offer a significant example of the political repercussions of the role confusion which affected the trade unionists in the House of Commons.

Regardless of the Member's position, the unions, especially in the early days of trade union representation, took the position that the sponsoring union's views were the ones to be represented by the Member. To insure that the Member was familiar with the union's views, it was customary for most unions to insist that prospective sponsored Members should have been a veteran member of the union. As a result, the sponsored Members frequently tended to be older than their fellows. When he chose to respond to other groups or clienteles, the unions used their influence to unseat the Member. This was first suggested in the nineteenth century when the Trades Union Congress sought to punish Charles Fenwick, M. P., the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, for his failure to support the eight hour day. This was only a suggestion of what unions might do since Fenwick was actually acting in agreement with HIS individual union, the Northumberland miners, in opposing the eight hour day.⁹ The Trades Union Congress lacked the power to force Fenwick out of Parliament, but they were able to take away his Trades Union Congress position in 1894.

Richard Bell and the Railway Servants

A more notable example of union-Member conflict came during

⁹Above, pp. 43-44.

the first decade of the twentieth century and involved Richard Bell, M. P. , and the Railway Servants' union (the predecessor to the National Union of Railwaymen). Bell was the General Secretary of the union from 1897 until 1910. In 1899, he was chosen as a prospective candidate for Parliament by the Derby Trades Council. Following his adoption, the Labor Representation Committee came into existence, and Bell agreed to fight the election under its name. In the 1900 General Election, Bell's expenses were paid by the Railway Servants from the union's general fund. After the election, he was paid a parliamentary salary of £200 per year from the same fund. Almost as soon as he took his seat, Bell began to move away from Keir Hardie, the other Labor Representation Committee Member of Parliament, and to embrace the Liberal Party. In seeking to further the interests of the members of his union, Bell earned little criticism.

In many respects Richard Bell proved to be an admirable M. P. He was extremely conscientious and hard working and never hesitated to intervene to secure the redress of grievances. In the ten weeks ending January 21, 1902, he made no less than forty-one representations to Ministers concerning the excessive hours of work of railwaymen.¹⁰

But Bell's flirtation with and eventual embrace of the Liberal Party soon got him into trouble with his union. In 1904 it agreed to continue to support him despite the fact that he refused to sign the constitution of the Labor Representation Committee. In the election

¹⁰ Philip Bagwell, The Railwaymen (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 232.

of 1906 he stood without the endorsement of the Labor Party but with the support of his union and was re-elected. At the same time he was joined in the House of Commons by two other members of the Railway Servants' union, Walter Hudson and George Wardle. Both were members of the Labor Party. From the start there was a cleavage between Bell and his two fellow unionists. It was not long before Bell even spoke out against the nationalization of the railways.¹¹

A behind-the-scenes move by Bell, in conjunction with W. E. Harvey (a Liberal Member of Parliament), to secure additional inspectors to insure the enforcement of the Railway Act of 1893 was a further sign of the disagreement between Bell and his co-unionists. Hudson and Wardle had, while Bell was working on his project, introduced a measure calling for limitation on the hours of work of railwaymen. Rather than disrupt his own scheme, Bell opposed this proposal and when it came up for a vote, he "was one of the tellers in the Government lobby while Messrs. Wardle and Hudson were tellers in the other lobby counting up the Labour members' votes."¹² Bell's position was at variance with the position of his union while Hudson and Wardle's was not.

As a result of the continuing disagreement over politics between Bell and his union, the Railway Servants' Executive Committee con-

¹¹H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 42ln.

¹²Bagwell, p. 237.

sidered and narrowly defeated a move in 1909 to call for Bell's resignation as a Member of Parliament and to retain his services only in the industrial sphere.¹³ Despite the defeat of the request for his resignation, Bell finally withdrew from both the union and politics and in 1910 was appointed by the President of the Board of Trade, Winston Churchill, to be Superintendent of Employment Exchanges. He held this position until 1924. That Bell might have had difficulty in retaining his seat in Parliament is suggested by the fact that the Railway Servants had no trouble in securing the Derby Labor candidature for J. H. Thomas in 1910.¹⁴

The Nottingham Miners

During the second and third decades of the twentieth century there were two other examples of union-member conflict involving the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and one of its components, the Nottingham Miners' Association. Just a few years after Bell's difficulty, J. G. Hancock, M. P., was denied the Labor Whip because of his continued membership in the Liberal Party. No longer a member of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Hancock "lost the £100 a year Parliamentary allowance (plus election expenses) which

¹³Ibid., pp. 239-240.

¹⁴J. H. Thomas reports in his memoirs that Bell sought to secure the seat for a Liberal and actually opposed Thomas' own candidature in 1910. J. H. Thomas, My Story (London: Hutchinson, 1937), pp. 24-26.

Labour miners' M. P. s drew from the MFGB Political Fund. "¹⁵

The miners' federation (the predecessor of the National Union of Mineworkers) was perhaps the most decentralized of all the British trade unions. The choice of candidates was left up to the local organization, but financial control was exercised from the center. Hancock had considerable local support so he was able to continue to serve in Parliament until 1922 despite the opposition of the Federation itself. In this instance, the attempted purge by the union failed because the Member had particularly strong local support.

The Nottingham miners were involved in another dispute with one of their Members as a result of the General Strike of 1926. George Spencer, M. P. , a leader of the Nottingham miners, had been a Member of Parliament since 1918. During the Struggle which followed the Strike, he broke with the Miners' Federation and the Labor Party to organize his own "non-political" union and to secure the best possible terms from the mine owners to end the struggle in Nottinghamshire. Disowned by his union, Spencer was then denied the Labor Party Whip.¹⁶

¹⁵Alan R. Griffin, The Miners of Nottinghamshire, 1914-1944 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 22. Cf. J. E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), pp. 498-505, 807-824.

¹⁶With regard to Spencer's loss of the Whip of the Parliamentary Labor Party, The Times commented: "The decision of the Labour Party has inflicted political punishment on a member for what was, at the worst, an industrial offence. The only complaint against Mr. Spencer related to his action in securing a favourable settlement for his followers in the Nottingham coal fields and for his subsequent formation of a non-political trade union. There is no complaint against his

Without either union or party support and committed to his "non-political" union, he did not stand for re-election in 1929.

J. H. Thomas and the National Union of Railwaymen

Conflict between the Member and his sponsoring union also arose out of the political crisis of 1931 and the formation of the National Government by J. Ramsay MacDonald. J. H. Thomas had been Lord Privy Seal in the Labor Government and followed MacDonald into the new Government. Thomas had been in the House of Commons since 1910 when he stood for election in Richard Bell's old seat of Derby. In the years since 1910, Thomas had been a major leader of the National Union of Railwaymen which he had helped to create in 1913 as a successor to the old Railway Servants' union. From 1919 he had been the Railwaymen's political General Secretary. His union had granted him leaves of absence to serve in the first two Labor governments. Thomas' activity throughout the twenties had not completely endeared him to all of his colleagues who were particularly distrustful of his snobbishness.¹⁷ The distrust of his colleagues seemed even

attitude towards the Labour Party inside the House of Commons. "The Times (London) (February 23, 1927), p. 12.

For a thorough discussion of Spencer's difficulties with the miners, see Griffin, pp. 150-236.

¹⁷ Thomas' snobbery is well illustrated in his memoirs. See Thomas, pp. 144-166. Thomas had come under strong criticism within the union for the decade prior to 1931 and successive Annual General Meeting of the National Union of Railwaymen were confronted with resolutions calling for Thomas' dismissal. There was never sufficient strength to pass them, but their existence suggests that all was not well between Thomas and his union. Ibid., p. 197.

more justified when he joined MacDonald in the National Government in 1931. The Railwaymen took the first move by indicating that his leave of absence had been terminated with the fall of the second Labor Government. They then asked him to either resign his union position or his position in the new Government.

Thomas refused to resign from the Government and submitted to the union his resignation as its political General Secretary. The Railwaymen accepted his resignation, dropped him from its list of sponsored candidates and stopped the salary of £250 per year which the union had paid him as one of its official Parliamentary representatives.¹⁸ Despite the loss of union support, Thomas had considerable local support in Derby, including the local branch of the National Union of Railwaymen.¹⁹ In the 1931 General Election he had no difficulty in being returned to the House while all of the railwaymen's union sponsored candidates were joining so many other Labor candidates in defeat.

Union-Member Conflict in Other Unions

Another example of union pressure on a sponsored Member arose from the 1931 crisis. Sir Robert Young, a former General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, had served as the Chairman of Ways and Means of the House of Commons under the second Labor

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 196-198.

¹⁹Bagwell, pp. 531-552.

Government. When the Government resigned and MacDonald formed the National Government, Young wrote to his local party, the Labor Party National Executive Committee, and his union for advice on what should be his course of action. Quite clearly, Young was willing to allow these bodies to define his role in the crisis. When the union advised him to resign, he did so without argument. In the House of Commons, however, he was criticized for allowing an extra-parliamentary organization to determine his conduct.²⁰

This sort of action on the part of the unions has not completely ceased in the post-World War II era. For example, in 1963 a number of rank and file members of the Transport and General Workers' Union sought to have George Brown dropped from the union's list of sponsored Members of Parliament. The union members were unhappy about the revelation of Brown's links with the Mirror newspaper group which had been critical of the Transport and General Workers' Union during a strike of busmen in 1957.²¹

On the basis of these and other incidents, it is fairly clear that the individual unions do pay some attention to a prospective nominee's industrial and political views when deciding to sponsor him or to

²⁰Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1930-1931), Vol. 256, cols. 5-8 (September 8, 1931).

²¹See The Times (London) (July 1, 1963), p. 7; G. A. Greenwood, "Men, Women and Matters," The New Dawn, XVII (1963), pp. 503-504. Cf. Andrew Roth, The Business Background of Members of Parliament (London: Parliamentary Profiles, 1963), pp. xiii-xiv.

responsor him once he enters the House of Commons. And at least some of the sponsored Members of Parliament are quite aware of this potential union action. For example, a letter of censure from the National Union of Mineworkers to one of its sponsored Members of Parliament in 1959 led him to speculate about the possible effects on his own political career of such action.²² In fact, nothing happened.

Two other recent but unverified incidents involve the two general unions. Each one was reported to have adopted sitting Members as rewards for the Member's position in the defence dispute of 1960-1961. Even if the Members' political views did not play a part in their adoption as union sponsored Members of Parliament, the reports by other Members clearly suggest their awareness of the possibility of such action.

Union Rank and File: The Postoffice Workers

Members of Parliament, of course, are not the only ones affected by real or alleged political bias in the procedures by which unions determine whom they are willing to sponsor. What of the politically conscious rank and file membership of the unions? The transition from election to appointment of prospective parliamentary nominees in the Union of Postoffice Workers activated these fears. The Post-office Workers had been dissatisfied with their methods of choosing prospective sponsored candidates, and in 1962 the union's leadership proposed that the union shift from electoral to appointive procedures with

²²Interview with Roy Mason, M. P. , July 23, 1964.

the national leadership being able to decide who would go on the union's panel of prospective parliamentary nominees.

Rank and file opposition was stirred up under the leadership of one Denis Hobden. Hobden feared that the transition would result in political bias determining whom the union would sponsor. Having had difficulty several years earlier in securing approval from the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party,²³ Hobden was only too well aware of the threat that this change in union procedure might be to himself as well as others. He specifically feared that the union leadership might take advantage of the change in procedure to punish him for his activities in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which the leaders of the Postoffice Workers had opposed.²⁴ Hobden's opposition did little to halt the switch by the Postoffice Workers and once the change was made, the basis for his fears was partially eliminated when he was appointed to the new panel.²⁵

Constituency Selection

Despite these cases of real or alleged political bias within the unions as regards whom it will be willing to sponsor, most of the time it would seem that there is very little attention given to a prospective parliamentary nominee's views save to insure that they are not such as

²³Ranney, p. 154.

²⁴Union of Postoffice Workers, Annual Conference, Report (1962), p. 6.

²⁵Union of Postoffice Workers, The Post, LXIX, No. 2 (January 25,

to earn the disfavor of the constituencies to which he is offered.

Since many constituencies do not concern themselves with the nominees' political views,²⁶ this is not a major consideration. While there may be considerable potential for the exercise of political bias influencing the union leaders when they decide which individual to sponsor, there is only limited evidence of it actually operating, and one receives the impression that it has decreased in recent years as the unions gradually shift their attention to consultation rather than parliamentary representation and parliamentary representation becomes increasingly symbolic.

The unions are concerned with the kind of constituencies to which they propose their nominees. They do not like to nominate members of their panels in seats which the Labor Party has little opportunity to win. Instead, the unions like to place their nominees in "safe" seats where victory of the Labor Party is practically assured. The effect of this practice on the part of the unions can be seen by inspection of Table 6. The last column is the percentage of candidates elected. If the unions have a bias in sponsoring, it involves the type constituency they look for. Note that the unions generally secure the return of a very high proportion of the candidates they are willing to sponsor. As one

1964), p. 29. In the 1964 General Election, Hobden was sponsored by the Postoffice Workers and elected to the House of Commons.

²⁶"Nevertheless, it is plain that ideological considerations have been decisive in relatively few Labour adoptions since 1945." Ranney, p. 210.

TABLE 6

PROPORTION TRADE UNION CANDIDATES

ACTUALLY ELECTED

Election	Candidates	Members of Parliament	
		Number	Percentage of Candidates Elected
1	2	3	4
1900	?	1	?
1906	35	21	60
1910-I	?	34	?
1910-II	?	39	?
1918	114	49	43
1922	?	85	?
1923	?	101	?
1924	?	86	?
1929	137	114	83
1931	142	35	25
1935	130	78	60
1945	124	120	97
1950	137	111	81
1951	136	108	79
1955	127	95	75
1959	129	93	72
1964	138	120	86

Sources

See the Sources for Table 4, p. 62.

union official expressed it, "We want a good return on our investment,"²⁷ on their investment of time, money, and energy, and this return can only be found in safe seats.²⁸

²⁷Interview with Mr. James Conway, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union, August 5, 1964.

²⁸See Harrison, pp. 271-272; Ranney, pp. 226-229.

The remaining stages of the recruitment process need not concern us greatly. The third is the adoption of the union's nominee by a constituency party. While promises of financial aid were at one time a major factor in insuring the selection of union nominees, the limitations imposed on the union's financial contribution in the Hastings Agreement in the 1930's and the impact of the Wilson Report seem to have helped to make the constituencies increasingly independent of the union's financial support.²⁹ The individual union's real power at this stage of the recruitment process is found in the number of votes that they can influence at the constituency selection conference. With the exception of the miners, almost no union can always be assured of having a majority at the selection conference. But they can try for constituencies where they do have a large number of affiliated members or where there are other unions in significant strength who might support their nominees. Once the union's nominee has been adopted by the constituency, the fourth stage of the recruitment process begins, and it ends only with the declaration of the poll following the general or by election.

THE "KEPT MEN"³⁰

It is not considered acceptable for a Member of the British

²⁹For a fuller treatment of the unions' financial relations with the Party, see Harrison, pp. 55-108.

³⁰"Kept Men" is the term used by Walter Elliott, M.P., in referring to the trade union sponsored Members in a 1954 Commons' Debate. See Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1953-1954), Vol. 528, col. 75 (May 27, 1954).

Parliament to act as the paid political agent of some outside interest.³¹

If he does receive a salary or other form of financial assistance from some outside body; it should not be in exchange for specific parliamentary acts, and when the Member takes part in debate or voting on matters of interest to the outside organization, he has traditionally been expected to "declare his interest." More generally, his primary theoretical responsibility is to further the interests of his constituency and the nation. The trade union sponsored Members of Parliament, however, have been under pressure from their sponsoring unions from their first entry into the House of Commons to represent and defend the interests of the individual unions. While this expectation on the part of the unions seems to have declined since World War II, it has not completely disappeared.

Since the first trade union Parliamentary representatives entered the House of Commons in 1874, they have received various forms of assistance from their sponsoring unions. In the early years, this was an absolute necessity since there was no state payment of Members of Parliament until 1911. Union assistance has taken two primary forms, either money and/or clerical aid. The financial assistance sometimes has included direct payments to the sponsored Member as well as financial support of his constituency and electoral expenses.³²

³¹For example, see Roth, p. xi.

³²Union financial assistance to a sponsored Member does not guarantee that he will be without financial troubles. For a description of the difficulties of one such sponsored Member, see W. J. Weatherly, "Backbencher," Guardian (London) (March 15, 1963), p. 9.

In the mid-twentieth century, the personal financial assistance amounts to as much as £ 250 per year from some unions, and as little as £ 25 or less per year from others. In Table 7, we have indicated the personal assistance paid by some unions to sponsored Members of the 1959-1964 House of Commons.

TABLE 7

DIRECT UNION FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO
SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Union	Amount Per Year
N. U. M.	£ 200
T. S. S. A.	Nothing
N. U. G. M. W.	250 (for officers) 75 (for lay union members)
U. P. W.	100
N. U. A. W.	Nothing
N. U. R.	100 (until 1962) 150 (since 1963)
B. I. S. A. K. T. A.	100
A. S. L. E. F.	150 (for former officers only)
U. S. D. A. W.	200
T. A.	150
N. U. P. E.	50
C. A. W. U.	50

Sources:

Union Accounts; Interviews with Union officials and Members of Parliament.

In our discussion of political recruitment, we have already had occasion to refer to a number of instances where union decided to cut

this financial assistance to the sponsored Member because of disagreement with him on policy questions. The financial assistance can thus be viewed as one device used by unions to insure that the Member speaks and acts in agreement with the unions. And it is precisely on these grounds that such payments to Members have been criticized. As early as 1910, it was the view of one of the judges in the Osborne case that the payment of Members of Parliament by non-parliamentary bodies was against public policy.³³ In more recent years, one of the conclusions of the Committee of Privilege in the Robinson case was that, " . . . the payment to, or receipt by, a Member of money, or of the officer or the acceptance of other advantages, for promoting or opposing a particular proceeding or measure, constitutes an undoubted breach of privilege. . . . "³⁴

Financial assistance to Members of Parliament is especially frowned on if it involves the expectation that the Member should devote his efforts to furthering the interests of the body which pays him. So long as the payments to a Member do not involve this expectation, they are generally accepted as a legitimate form of activity. Despite occasional rank and file attempts to impose responsibility to the union on the union sponsored Members of Parliament by the threat of denying the continued financial assistance from the union, most of the current

³³Above, p. 51.

³⁴Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (1943-44), Accounts and Papers 84. Report from the Committee of Privileges (hereafter cited as the Robinson Case Report), paragraph 4.

union payments to Members seem not to have involved something which would have caused them to run afoul of this convention about not accepting outside payment for parliamentary services. The union leaders have come to accept the general norm of parliamentary independence and are a buffer between rank and file demands and the sponsored Members.

Financial assistance to sponsored Members sometimes creates a paradox. One example of this came in the early 1950's in the dispute within the Labor Party over German rearmament. Some unions, such as the Shop, Distributive, and Allied Workers, require that their sponsored Members be subject to the Whip of the Parliamentary Labor Party. During the dispute over German rearmament, one of the Shopworkers' sponsored Members, Ernest Fernyhough, lost the Whip for a time because of his opposition to the official policy of the Labor Party. The union was forced to halt its aid to Fernyhough. The paradox derived from the fact that Fernyhough's views were actually in agreement with the union, which was also opposing the Party position.³⁵ When Fernyhough regained the Whip of the Parliamentary Party, the payments were renewed. In a somewhat similar situation involving S. O. Davies and the miners' union during the defence dispute of 1960-1961, the union did not cease its financial aid to the Member.³⁶ Both

³⁵Harrison, pp. 293-294. Cf. the justification of sponsorship given by one official of the Shopworkers. Below, p. 149.

³⁶Interview with Mr. Kessler, Research Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers, July 28, 1964.

instances are evidence of the increasing acceptance in union circles of the Members' political independence of the unions.

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE

The Members of Parliament are protected against outside pressure by a number of factors. One of the most important is to be found in what is known as Parliamentary Privilege.³⁷ Violations of the Privileges of Parliament can be punished by the House of Commons itself. The idea that privilege would protect a sponsored Member from attempts by his union to coerce him is apparently an accepted belief of the trade union representatives in the House of Commons.³⁸ The unions, for their part, seem to accept the fact that attempts by them to influence their sponsored Members might lead to breach of Parliamentary Privilege.³⁹

The career of the arch rebel of Parliamentary Labor Party, Aneurin Bevan, offers a number of instances when he was prepared to invoke Parliamentary Privilege in order to protect himself against attacks by his union or the Trades Union Congress. The threat of

³⁷For a brief discussion of Parliamentary Privilege, see Peter G. Richards, Honourable Members (Second edition; London: Faber and Faber, 1964), pp. 229-246.

³⁸This was the usual response of a number of trade union sponsored Members when interviewed in the summer of 1964.

³⁹In the next chapter, we will see how this affects the attitudes of union leaders toward rank and file criticism of the Members of Parliament.

such action was enough to cause the attacks to cease.⁴⁰ Since Bevan was so often a rebel in disagreement with the bulk of the union sponsored representatives in the House of Commons, they did not always take kindly to his threats regarding Parliamentary Privilege.⁴¹

The actual degree to which privilege does shield the Member of Parliament from external pressure is quite a different matter. In dealing with the Brown and Robinson cases, Harrison concludes that "It has been apparent that any attempt by a union to coerce its M.P.s would probably be a breach of privilege. . . ."⁴² In view of the reliance placed on privilege by both Members and unions, it is important that we examine both the Brown and Robinson cases to try to discover the precise extent of the protection which they are said to offer.

⁴⁰ See Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan: A Biography (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1962), pp. 162-163, 353-355, 447-462.

Bevan's personal philosophy or representation is free of much of the ambiguity which the trade unionists usually expressed. Bevan summed it up as follows: "I do not represent the F. B. I., nor do I represent the T. U. C. I happen to represent constituents in Ebbw Vale. When I go back to my constituents I expect them to hold me to account for what I have done and I do not expect if they disagree with anything I have done to be able to explain it away by saying that I did it on the instruction of somebody." Ibid., pp. 415-416. Cf. A Bevan, In Place of Fear (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), p. 15.

We should keep in mind two essential characteristics of Bevan's constituency in reading this. First, the preponderance of miners and their families which is so typical of mining areas in Britain. Secondly, the local control exercised by the miners within the mining constituencies of South Wales in deciding who they would sponsor.

⁴¹ Harrison, p. 293, n. 1.

⁴² Ibid., p. 293. Beer sees less protection on these two cases than does Harrison. See Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 24.

The Robinson Case

The Robinson case arose out of a decision by the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers to withdraw its support from W. A. Robinson, M. P. , who was sponsored by the union and who sat for the constituency of St. Helens. The Committee on Privilege which heard the case reported the facts as follows:

Down to the end of 1942 Mr. Robinson was the Political General Secretary of the Union and as such was in receipt of a salary. He was also a member of the Union's Parliamentary Panel. In November, 1942, having reached the age of 65, he vacated his office, came off the Parliamentary Panel and went on a pension. . . . In the special condition of war-time . . . the Union decided to continue the association and to make him an allowance of £200 in respect of expenses as a Member of Parliament, and he was also given a postage allowance and secretarial assistance. The letter of 24th April, 1944 [from the union's Acting General Secretary and including a request for Robinson's resignation] was the result of complaints made against Mr. Robinson by the Executive of the Divisional Labour Party for St. Helens, reinforced by the dissatisfaction which the Union itself felt as a result of their experience.⁴³

Robinson refused to resign, and the union felt compelled to discontinue its assistance to him after the end of June, 1944. It was this decision on the part of the union which was attacked as being a breach of privilege.

The Committee found that there was no breach of privilege in this case. It concluded that while receipt of financial assistance in exchange for legislative service with regard to specific items of parliamentary business would be a breach of privilege, "it has long been recognized that there are Members who receive financial assistance

⁴³Robinson Case Report, paragraph 3.

from associations or their constituents or from other bodies. A body which provides such assistance must normally be free and entitled to withdraw it." If the Committee's report had stopped here, there would be no question where the matter stood. Unfortunately, it did not. It included another two sentences which had the effect of confusing the entire situation. The Report went on to say:

A statement that such support would be withdrawn unless certain action was taken in Parliament in relation to the business of the House might come within the principles laid down in the precedents as a breach of privilege. IT DEPENDS ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES.⁴⁴ (emphasis added)

While this conclusion certainly does not disallow the belief by both Members and their unions that privilege protects the sponsored Members from union pressure, it does raise doubts as to the extent of that protection.

The Brown Case

The second case which concerns us here took place several years after the Robinson dispute. It involved W. J. Brown and the Civil Service Clerical Association. Brown had been a creator of the union and its General Secretary from 1918 until 1942. From 1943 until 1948 he had the title of Parliamentary General Secretary. Brown served as a Labor Member of Parliament between 1929 and 1931 and as an Independent Member from 1942 until 1950.⁴⁵ Brown's conduct as

⁴⁴Ibid., paragraph 4.

⁴⁵These biographical details are taken from Brown's obituary which appeared in The Times (London) (October 5, 1960), p. 15.

a Member had always created a certain amount of dissension within the Civil Service Clerical Association. Brown was a radical foe of capitalism and all that he felt that it stood for; but, by his own admission, half of the members of his union were Conservatives.⁴⁶ Brown's dissatisfaction with the second Labor Government's economic policy had led to his brief association with Mosley's New Party in 1931. As a result of his disagreement with the Government, he was expelled from the Trade Union Group and there was an attempt on the part of his union to displace him as its official candidate.⁴⁷

Brown was not a sponsored Member during his second period of service in the House of Commons. Following his re-election to the House of Commons as an Independent in 1942, Brown entered into a contractual arrangement with the Association. The relevant portions of the agreement declared that Brown,

(a) shall be entitled to engage in his political activities with complete freedom;

(b) shall deal with all questions arising in the work of the Association which require Parliamentary or political action;

(c) shall not be entitled in his political and Parliamentary activities to purport to represent the political views of the Association (if any) and he shall only represent the Association in so far as Civil Service questions are concerned.⁴⁸

⁴⁶W. J. Brown, So Far (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1942), pp. 159-163.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 159-163, 178-186. Cf. The Times (London) (February 13, 1931), p. 14.

⁴⁸Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers (1946-1947), Accounts and Papers 118. Report From the Committee of Privileges (hereafter cited as the Brown Case Report), paragraph 3.

The agreement also gave Brown the sole right to terminate the relationship.

In suggesting that a breach of privilege had occurred, Brown was claiming that pressure from the Association to stop some of his political activities was making it impossible for him to continue his relationship with the union. The Association, or some of its officials, denied this and insisted that they only sought to end the relationship between Brown and the union. The Report of the Committee on Privileges found that no breach of privilege had been committed.⁴⁹ But the ambiguity of the Committee's Report in the Robinson case was not dissipated here. In its conclusion, the Committee stated:

Not every action by an outside body which may influence the conduct of a Member of Parliament as such could now be regarded as a breach of privilege, even if it were calculated and intended to bring pressure on the Member to take or to refrain from taking a particular course. Thus a Resolution passed by some national organization, or a town's meeting in a Member's constituency urging him to speak or vote in one way or another would not normally involve any breach of privilege, even though it expressly or by implication indicated that political support would be given or withheld according to the Member's response. . . . In your Committee's view the fact that a contractual relationship does exist is not in itself one which must completely tie the hands of the outside body if it desires to criticize or comment on a Member's activities.⁵⁰

"Not every action" suggests that there are some actions which would be a breach of privilege, but the Committee made no attempt to give a

⁴⁹Ibid., paragraphs 11-20. The complexity of the question in the Brown case is suggested by the fact that the Committee took eleven paragraphs to state its conclusions when it took only one in the Robinson case.

⁵⁰Ibid., paragraph 12.

definitive answer to the question of what these actions might be.

Typically, that would have to wait for specific cases and disputes.⁵¹

The Robinson and Brown cases make it quite clear that pressure from outside bodies such as trade unions on Members of Parliament could be a breach of privilege. But the failure to define precisely what would be a breach of privilege suggests that both Members' and unions' respect for it in cases of conflict might be misplaced. In our next chapter, we will see that respect for parliamentary privilege was one weapon used by union leaders who sought to defeat rank and file attempts to call union sponsored Members of Parliament to account for their activity in the defence dispute.

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR UNION HEADQUARTERS

Headquarters communication

The public rationale for direct parliamentary representation on the part of the trade unions is that this is the only way that they can insure that the individual union's interests will have adequate political protection. If this is the principal justification for sponsoring, we might expect to find that there exist strong channels of communication

⁵¹Following a debate on the Brown Case Report in the House of Commons, the House adopted a resolution advising against having "contractual" relations with outside bodies. Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1946-1947), Vol. 440, cols. 284-365 (July 15, 1947).

between the sponsored Members of Parliament and their unions.⁵²

These channels would allow a two-way flow of information from the union to the Member and from the Member to the union. Thus the Member could be kept aware of what his union was doing and what might be done in Parliament to help it. At the same time, the union could be kept aware of the political climate in the House of Commons so that it might plan its programs accordingly.

There is yet another reason for maintaining adequate channels of communication between the unions and Members of Parliament. In the eyes of the House of Commons, the sponsored Members are considered authorities on their unions:

Sponsored M. P. s tend to regard themselves as the official representatives of their unions in Parliament and are certainly regarded by the House of Commons as a whole as being in a position to speak with authority on matters affecting their unions. Certainly any sponsored Member whose union was involved in a Parliamentary Debate would be given a considerable priority by the Speaker while the Whips would always consider the argument that his union was involved in a very powerful reason for the inclusion of a sponsored Member.⁵³

If the Members are to live up to this expectation, they must be in a

⁵²Below, p. 211 for a discussion of links between the trade unionists and the Trades Union Congress. In general there are no effective systematic links between the Members and their unions. For further discussion of the links that do exist, See J. D. Stewart, British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. 179-182; Harrison, pp. 262-306.

⁵³Richard Marsh, "The P. L. P. and the Trade Unions" (Revised copy; London: The Fabian Society, 1963), pp. 3-4 (Mimeographed). I am grateful to Mr. Marsh who has been sponsored by the National Union of Public Employers since 1960, for permission to quote his paper.

position to renew their knowledge of the union from time to time. If they do not do this, they are likely to find that their specialist knowledge is sadly outdated.

Thus, from both the unions', the Members', and the House of Commons' point of view, we have grounds for expecting to find strong channels of communication between Members and unions. We turn from this hypothesis to an investigation of what communication channels actually do exist. The contemporary situation is quite different from that which existed when the first trade union leaders were elected to the House of Commons in the nineteenth century. In the earlier period of trade union Parliamentary representation, the links between the unions, their Members of Parliament, and the House of Commons were personal ones. The Members of Parliament were simultaneously leaders of the unions.⁵⁴

With the changing nature of trade union representation in the years since World War I, it became necessary to create new channels of communication. These took a variety of forms, but all had the same ostensible purpose of keeping the two parties informed of what the other was doing. Almost without exception, the ties that were created were between the Members of Parliament and the unions' national headquarters (and, in the case of the miners, the various regional headquarters). The union leaders, for both administrative and political reasons, sought to insure that all contact between the unions

⁵⁴Above, pp. 109-121.

and parliamentarians would take place through the unions' headquarters. In some unions, this has gone so far as to require all attempts by union branches to approach the sponsored Member on union business must go through union headquarters.⁵⁵ On the part of the Members, this centralization of authority is reflected in the fact that few of them play any active part in local union affairs after they become Members of Parliament.⁵⁶

Most unions have retained some form of contact between their own national executive committee and their sponsored Members. This might take the form of regular meetings of both the parliamentarians and the Executive Committee to allow for a joint exchange of views,⁵⁷ or it might simply be the receipt by the parliamentarians of all

⁵⁵The Amalgamated Engineering Union issued a new directive to this effect in the summer of 1964. Interview with Mr. James Conway, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union, August 5, 1964. Cf. Marsh, p. 2.

⁵⁶One of the few exceptions to this was Charles Howell, M. P. (Birmingham, Perry Bar). Mr. Howell had long experience as a National Union of Railwaymen branch secretary prior to his election to Parliament in 1955. During the 1959-1964 Parliament, the office of secretary of Howell's own branch of the union fell vacant and he carried out its duties for a time. Interview with Charles Howell, M. P., July 29, 1964.

⁵⁷Unions doing this include the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, the British Iron Steel, and Kindred Trades Association, and the Musicians. In the Miners' Union, the Chairman and Secretary of the Miners' group in the House of Commons meets regularly with the union's Executive Committee. In the National Union of Railwaymen there are periodic meetings between the Members of Parliament and the political sub-committee of the union's Executive Committee. In the Transport and

Executive Committees' documents.⁵⁸ Of necessity, this second procedure would lead itself to only one-way communication. In a number of unions, the sponsored Members of Parliament (or some of them) are members of the unions' executive committees because of their union positions.⁵⁹ The parallel between this and the position of the early trade union supported Members is obvious. In addition to these formal channels, there is sometimes additional informal linkage resulting from personal friendships between the Members and the union leaders. Of course, even where such links do not exist, it is always possible for the union leaders to ring up the Members to ask them to raise something in the House.

In most of the unions, a special effort is made to inform the Members of the unions' views when there is a matter of particular concern to the unions. The unions' staffs will prepare a brief for the

General Workers' Union, the Members meet regularly with the union's political officer.

⁵⁸Unions doing this include the Postoffice Workers, the Shopworkers, the National Union of Public Employees, the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, and the National Union of Mineworkers.

⁵⁹In the 1959-1964 Parliament these included the following: 1) Transport Salaried Staffs Association (Ray Gunter, M.P., President, and T. G. Bradley, M.P., Treasurer); 2) National Union of Agricultural Workers (Edwin Gooch, M.P., President and A. V. Hilton, M.P., Vice-President); 3) United Patternmakers Association (Ellis Smith, M.P., President); 4) Shopworkers (Walter Padley, M.P., President); 5) United Textile Workers' Association (E. Thornton, M.P., President, Weavers' Union and member of the Association's Executive Committee). Membership in the union's executive committee, of course, is not the same as active participation. Most of these union positions are honorary ones with little power within the union.

parliamentarians to use as they see fit. The miners do this regularly for Debates on the mining industry, and other unions do it when they feel there is a matter of particular concern to them up for debate. This is not a universal practice. In at least one union, the Member had to take the initiative himself to find out if the union had any particular views on the Factory Act passed by Parliament in 1960-1961.⁶⁰ Since the unions are so often involved ahead of time, through the process of consultation, in the drafting of legislation, direct resort to their sponsored Members must be viewed in part as a sign of their failure to achieve the desired goals in these behind-the-scenes consultations. Sometimes, links between Members and unions are used to try to prevent the Members from speaking on questions, especially industrial disputes, which might embarrass the unions.⁶¹

These direct contacts between the union headquarters and the Members of Parliament sometimes have less serious aims. In one union, for example, the Member was asked if he might be willing to raise a number of questions in the House with regard to the wages of agricultural laborers. The union merely hoped to be able to publicly secure certain statistical information to aid it in making wage claims.⁶²

⁶⁰Interview with Mr. Tritton, Research Officer, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, August 12, 1964.

⁶¹For example, see Roy Mason, M. P., "I Speak for 100 Gagged Men," The People (November 22, 1959), p. 12. The title was supplied by the newspaper, not by Mason. This is the article which led to the letter of censure referred to above, p. 123.

⁶²Interview with Mr. Hodson, Research Officer, National Union

In another union, matters are referred to the union's sponsored Member, not in the expectation of action, but as a means of passing the buck. Having made the referral, the union leadership can put off inquiries by saying that the matter has been referred to the Member of Parliament for action.⁶³

Unions also make use of their sponsored Members when lobbying ministers. The Members are sometimes asked by the union leaders to arrange a meeting between union members and a particular Minister so that the union members can inform him of their views on a particular topic. For example, in September, 1960, a delegation from the National Union of Agricultural Workers, led by Edwin Gooch, M.P., and A. V. Hilton, M.P. (the President and Vice-President, respectively, of the union), was received by the Minister of Housing and Local Government, the Rt. Hon. Henry Brooke. The delegation was protesting the continued existence of "tied cottages."⁶⁴ In another instance, Robert Mellish, M.P., met with a group of rank and file members of the Transport and General Workers' Union at the House of Commons to discuss their

of Agricultural Workers, August 20, 1964. This, of course, is not the only thing that the Agricultural Workers' Members do on behalf of their union. See "A Prayer in the House," The Land Worker, XLI (March, 1960), p. 4.

⁶³Interview with Mr. Tritton, Research Officer, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, August 12, 1964. This practice is analogous to David Easton's "Associated Output Statements." See David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley, 1965), pp. 357-359.

⁶⁴"The Tied Cottage," The Land Worker, XLI (October, 1960), p. 7.

problems in the London Taxi business. Mellish promised, on behalf of the unions' group of sponsored Members of Parliament, to try to find some solution to the problems of the cabmen, and he urged to try to make additional representation to the Home Secretary.⁶⁵

Rank and File Communication

As we have already suggested, the bulk of the communication between unions and their Members of Parliament goes through the union headquarters. There are, however, two types of more or less direct contact between the sponsored Members and the unions' rank and file membership. These channels of communication are: 1) participation of the politicians in the union's conferences; 2) contributions to the union's journal by the parliamentarian.

Most of the unions sponsoring Members at the time of the 1959 General Election had some provision for the attendance of one or more of their Members at the union's conference. Most unions have annual conferences (although in some such as the Transport and General Workers, they come every other year or even less often). In some unions, the Members are only visitors who take no active part in the official proceedings of the conference.⁶⁶ More usual is the practice

⁶⁵"Cabmen's Deputation to Westminster," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XLI (January, 1961), pp. 40-41. Cf. "Short and Harland Commons Lobby," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XLII (January, 1963), pp. 35-36.

⁶⁶Transport Salaried Staffs Association; Union of Postoffice Workers; National Union of Public Employees.

of having one Member address the conference, reporting on the current parliamentary scene.⁶⁷ In several of these unions, the Members may be subjected to questions on their report.⁶⁸ In one, and only one union, the sponsored Members of Parliament, by virtue of the fact that they are Members of Parliament, are permitted to take part in debate on the floor of the conference.⁶⁹ While the speeches made by the Members to the union conferences are usually described as a report on their parliamentary activity, even the most casual inspection of them reveals that they are usually nothing more than very general reports on the overall political situation for the past year with almost no reference to what the union's own sponsored Members have done. Participation of the Members in the union conferences might provide for a certain amount of informal communication between the sponsored Members and the union conference delegates. Our research unfortunately provides no data on how extensive or effective it might be. We will have occasion to deal with some of these parliamentary reports to the unions in our next chapter.

Contributions by the sponsored Members to union journals is essentially a one-way affair with the Member usually reporting on

⁶⁷National Union of Mineworkers; Amalgamated Engineering Union; National Union of General and Municipal Workers and National Union of Vehicle Builders, to name a few. Others include the Typographers' Association and the Clerical Workers.

⁶⁸National Union of Railwaymen and Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

⁶⁹Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers.

"The Month in Parliament." These articles are usually nothing more than a monthly version of the conference speeches. Seldom do the articles depart from the most general sort of statements unless they are dealing with the topic of the union's involvement to politics and connections with the Labor Party. One might further question the effectiveness of these contributions to the union journals in making known the sponsored Member's activities to the union rank and file when it is pointed out that at only about eighteen per cent of the union members bother to read the journal.⁷⁰

The one way nature of these links between sponsored Members of Parliament and union rank and file is increased by the generally poor nature of internal communications within the unions. For many union members, their connection with the union begins and ends at their place of work where the shop steward is the single most important figure. But in many of the unions, the shop stewards are not integrated into the official union organization so that they are unable to transmit workers' grievances to the union and thus to the sponsored Members of Parliament.⁷¹ This, of course, makes even more effective the desire

⁷⁰Social Surveys, Gallup Poll on the Trade Unions (1959), p. 10 (Table 10). For a more general discussion of the union journals' contribution to communication within the unions, see David F. Selvin, "Communication in Trade Unions: A Study of Union Journals," British Journal of Industrial Relation, I (1963), pp. 75-93.

⁷¹George Cyriax and R. Oakeshott, The Bargainer: A Survey of Modern British Trade Unionism (New York: Praeger, 1961), p. 71.

of union leaders to carefully regulate and control any contact between the Members of Parliament and the rank and file union members.

Communication Between Members of Parliament
and Their Unions: An Evaluation

How effective are all of these current links between the individual unions and their sponsored Members of Parliament in keeping each other informed of what they are doing? If the parliamentarians are consulted, the answer is relatively unambiguous. In a recent survey of the views of the trade union sponsored Members in the House of Commons, 59 of the 71 responding said that they were not "satisfied with the influence of Trade Union Members of Parliament within the Unions."⁷² Ten of the remaining twelve were either sponsored by the Shopworkers' Union or serving on the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party. While all of the results could not be made available to this writer, the figures given above suggest that the Shopworkers' practice of supplying all of its sponsored Members with all Executive Committee documents and allowing them to participate in the debates of the union conferences does aid in keeping the Members more satisfied with their roles in the trade union movement.

Some union leaders are also dissatisfied with the existing state of communications between their particular unions and their sponsored

⁷²Richard Marsh, "The Trade Union Movement and the Parliamentary Labour Party" (London: The Fabian Society, n. d.), pp. 1-2 (Mimeographed). This is the original draft of the Marsh paper cited above on p. 139.

Members, but they seem disinclined to do anything about it. In part, this is due to an apparent change in the private rationale of trade union sponsorship of Members of Parliament. While the traditional justification is frequently repeated, a number of union officials are coming to acknowledge in the years since World War II that the real reason for sponsorship is no longer found in the need of the unions for direct parliamentary representation. The explanation given by one union official was that the sponsored Members of Parliament were not union Members of Parliament. They were Labor Members and sponsorship was merely one further means by which the union could help the Party.⁷³

The research officer of another union suggested that his union was interested in sponsoring for two reasons: First, because other unions had sponsored Members, his should as a matter of prestige. While this factor would be vehemently denied by the officials of the general unions, it would seem to be one explanation for their tendency in the last few years to sponsor Members with relatively limited industrial experience in the union. Secondly, the union had sponsored a Member for a long time, and it was the traditional thing to do.⁷⁴

⁷³Interview with Mr. Cyril Hammett, Chief Administrative Officer, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, August 9, 1964.

⁷⁴Interview with Mr. Tritton, Research Officer, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, August 12, 1964. The traditional factor was emphasized by the Assistant General Secretary of another union who stated that the only reason his union sponsored Members of Parliament was because its constitution required them to do so. Interview with Mr. R. W. Bucton, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, August 15, 1964.

Another major reason for the failure of the individual unions and sponsored Members of Parliament to seek to improve their channels of communication is to be found in their joint recognition that sponsored Members of Parliament might become a rival source of leadership within the union. Both the union leaders and the sponsored Members of Parliament are aware of this danger.⁷⁵ By keeping channels of communication centralized and relatively inefficient, the union leaders are able to avoid such a threat to their own positions.

Because of the failure to develop more efficient channels of communication, there seems little ground for disagreeing with the leading student of relations between the unions and the Labor Party when he writes:

Few trade union Members of Parliament can hope to give rank and file members any impression that they are doing a useful job. Moreover, many have only a vicarious knowledge of the decisions their own union is taking. Even within their own unions many of them tend to become unknown, vaguely superannuated figures.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Interviews with James Conway, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union, August 5, 1964; and Ness Edwards, M.P., June 25, 1964. This is not to say that the union leaders are arbitrary in exercising their control of the channels of communication between the Members of Parliament and the unions. They may function as little more than messengers. This was evident in 1960 when the headquarters of the National Union of Mineworkers which was supporting the multilateralists in the defence dispute "passed on" to the sponsored Members of Parliament a resolution from the Midlands area of the union which supported the unilateralists. J. Cole, "Miner's Blow for Mr. Gaitskell," Manchester Guardian (October 27, 1960). Cf. "Labour," The Economist (October 29, 1960), p. 432.

⁷⁶Harrison, p. 297. Cf. "Finally, on the question of what A. E. U. Members of Parliament really do. I attended a branch meeting the other night to speak on this subject and after an interesting evening I came away convinced that the majority of the members do not realize the

THE PROBLEM OF ROLE CONFUSION

The role confusion which has affected the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament derives from their plural responsibility to a number of different clienteles. Of these clienteles, party, constituency, and trade union are perhaps in the best position to seek to impose their expectations of the legislator's proper role on the Member. Each group has certain rewards and deprivations at their disposal, and, as we have shown above, the unions, for one, have not hesitated to use these techniques when they thought desirable. Their willingness to do so, however, seems to have declined in more recent years⁷⁷ as the union leaders have accommodated themselves to the changed nature of their relation to the Government of the day.

As the unions become increasingly accustomed to their status as consultants whose views were sought after by the Government, they find less necessity of insisting on co-operation from their sponsored Members of Parliament. Having less need for the parliamentarians as a device

importance of a strong parliamentary representation to our Members." Jack McCann, "Beneath Big Ben," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXVII, No. 3 (March, 1960), p. 85.

⁷⁷The increasing independence of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament is suggested by the relation of Tom Fraser, M. P., and his sponsoring union, the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers. Fraser is best located on the more conservative side of the Labor Party while the Scottish miners are under Communist domination. Despite frequent attacks on Fraser by the Scottish miners, there has never been any suggestion that they might choose to cease sponsoring him. Interview with Tom Fraser, M. P., July 16, 1964.

A decline is not the same as a disappearance. And the remnants

for interest articulation, the unions are willing to relegate them to a secondary position even while maintaining the original form. Using Bagehot's terminology, the sponsored Members come to serve a dignified rather than efficient function within the British political system, insofar as the unions are concerned. The decline in union dependence on the Members of Parliament means that: 1) the Members secure increased freedom from union pressures and directions; 2) the Members' ability to articulate specific union interests decreased as they became increasingly separated from intimate contact with the union organization.

As this transformation continues, the Members take on a different function from the unions' point of view. They came to serve simply as symbols of the unions' consultative status within the British political system.⁷⁸ The changing emphasis in the union's view of sponsored

of union willingness to punish their sponsored Members is attacked by persons outside the union movement. For example, Roy Mason's treatment by the National Union of Mineworkers in 1959 led the Manchester Guardian to raise three questions about the entire system of sponsorship:

"How far can the unions interfere with the freedom of trade union M. P. s without running the risk of a breach of privilege?

"How far can a trade union M. P. regard himself as representing only the trade unionists in his constituency? Does he not represent all his constituents?

"What sanctions can a union bring against a union-sponsored M. P. -- exclusion from the sponsored list?"

"Trade Union M. P. s Troubled," Manchester Guardian (November 23, 1959).

⁷⁸The earlier symbolic importance of parliamentary representation received a new twist. Stewart comments: "There can be no doubt that confidence is still felt in sponsored M. P. s and that the unions feel

Members did not, of course, eliminate all source of role confusion. But it did tend to reduce the importance of one major source of such confusion. With the unions less concerned with the legislator's role, the Member of Parliament was able to turn his attention to other clientele such as party, constituency, class, or nation. This transformation of the sponsored Members' relations with their unions, however, was just beginning to become apparent in the 1950's and early 1960's. That it had not completely replaced the older view of the sponsored Members of Parliament as servants of the unions will be seen in the following study of the defence dispute of 1960-1961.

that without them their position would be weaker. It is their status they fear for, not the loss of opportunities for group representation." (emphasis added). Stewart, p. 177.

CHAPTER IV

UNION-MEMBER RELATIONS AND THE DEFENCE DISPUTE OF 1960-1961

To facilitate further study of the relations between the sponsored Members of Parliament and their unions, we have made a study of the defence dispute within the Labor Party in 1960-1961. This topic was chosen for a number of reasons. It was one of the two major internal conflicts within the Labor Party during the 1959-1964 Parliament. It was the only one to have observable repercussions in Parliament. The dispute was a very serious one and affected almost all segments of the Labor Party. The portion of the dispute which is of major concern to us saw a number of trade unions affiliated to the Labor Party repudiating the position taken by the leaders of the Party. The refusal of the Parliamentary Labor Party as a whole to go along with the unions created a potentially difficult situation for the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament who were then caught between the Parliamentary Party and their unions. On the surface at least, the dispute was relatively free of ambiguity. The positions of the unions and parliamentarians can be determined fairly easily. More

importantly, there were those in the union movement who took the dispute seriously enough to take an active interest in what their sponsored Members were doing. Since the dispute was common to the entire Labor movement, it avoids the difficulty of trying to find specific subjects affecting each union.

The defence dispute has one major drawback. It was not an industrial dispute. Despite the very deep commitment of some union leaders and rank and file members, there were many who felt that the issue was secondary to the principal economic functions of the unions.¹ To such individuals, the fact that the politicians agreed or

¹Just a little over a year prior to the 1960 Labor Party conference, a public opinion poll on the trade unions asked the following questions: "Do you think Trade Unions should or should not be concerned with political matters like the H-Bomb and foreign affairs?" The replies to this question were classified as follows:

	Total	Working Population		Wives of Members	Others
		Trade Union Members	Non Members		
Should Be	22%	36	18	19	22
Should Not	64	55	68	63	67
Don't Know	14	9	14	18	14

Voting Intentions					
	Total	Con.	Lab.	Lib.	Don't Know
Should Be	22	15	36	16	15
Should Not	64	77	48	75	61
Don't Know	14	8	16	9	24

Source:

Social Surveys, Gallup Poll on the Trade Unions (1959), p. 11 (TABLE 12). While more than one-third of the trade union members

disagreed with their unions was not of any real significance. The division of the Labor movement into industrial (trade unions) and political (Labor Party) wings implied that the one was entitled to a certain amount of independence of the other. Had the dispute been concerned with topics such as the legal position of the unions in British society or the unions' right to strike rather than the question of Britain's defence policy, the results might have turned out quite differently.

THE ISSUE OF AN INDEPENDENT DETERRENT

The basic issue involved in the dispute was whether Britain should retain its "independent deterrent," try to secure multilateral disarmament of all nations having nuclear weapons, or disarm by herself and thus set a moral example for the rest of the world to follow. Within the Labor movement, it was the latter two alternatives which formed the basis of discussion. Even the "Foreign Policy and Defence" statement issued by the Party leadership in July of 1960 acknowledged

felt that the unions should take an interest in these political questions, over half of them were opposed to such action by the unions.

When the trade unionists were asked what they felt to be the most urgent problem facing the Trades Union Congress, only 13% mentioned the H-Bomb (and this was the only non-economic or non-industrial issue mentioned). Social Surveys, Gallup Poll on the Trade Unions (1959), TABLE 11. By 1964, this percentage has shrunk to only 4%. See The Gallup Poll, Trades Unions and the Public in 1964 (1964), TABLE 10.

In the only known case of an actual ballot vote of a union's membership, the official Party policy supporting multilateral disarmament was approved by a three-to-one majority in the Typographical Association. Labour Party Annual Conference, Report (1961), p. 182.

that Britain's "independent deterrent" was, in fact, not independent.² The statement went on to urge that the United Kingdom should work for world disarmament and should be willing to give up its own nuclear weapons. Britain's contribution to the western alliance should be in the form of conventional military might while the United States would provide the nuclear weapons. Much of this might have been acceptable to the supporters of Britain's unilateral disarmament save for one thing, the position set forth in the Party statement would not have eliminated the use of British bases by nuclear armed American planes and ships. It was this question which split the Party.

The unilateralists wanted Britain to give up her own nuclear weapons, to cease testing and manufacturing them, and to stop allowing British soil to be used as a base for American nuclear weapons. The unilateralists were inspired by a whole host of considerations. Some were genuine pacifists who opposed war, any war, on religious or moral grounds. Some were nuclear pacifists who feared what might happen to Britain in the event of nuclear war, especially if Britain were to provoke attack by maintaining her own nuclear weapons system. Some were anti-American who either resented the apparent success of rampant American capitalism or resented the way in which the United States had supplanted the United Kingdom as the major world power in the Atlantic and elsewhere around the world. Such people

²Labour Party Annual Conference, Report (1960), p. 14.

were not happy with the role Harold Macmillan had suggested during World War II when he is alleged to have said that Britains were the Greeks in an American Roman Empire. Again, some were Little Englanders who wished to retreat from Britain's overseas commitments, to concentrate their attention on the British Isles. Elsewhere, such an outlook might have been termed isolationism. There were those also undoubtedly who did not look on the Soviet Union from a completely antagonistic point of view. For such persons, to weaken Britain by having her renounce the bomb would help to weaken the entire Western Alliance and thus help the Soviet Union. Lastly, there was also an element of the British anti-German sentiment which had been so important in the fight over German rearmament in the early 1950's. If Britain were to keep the Bomb, it was only a matter of time before Germany would also demand it. The anti-German feeling also played a part in the subsidiary issue of the training of German troops in Wales.

The proponents of unilateral disarmament introduced an ideological element into British politics which had been missing for some time.³ Organized in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other organizations such as the Committee of One Hundred headed by Lord Bertrand Russell, the unilateralists were an important force in British politics throughout the middle and late 1950's and early 1960's. Their annual

³See Henry J. Steck, "The Re-emergence of Ideological Politics in Great Britain: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," The Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (1965), pp. 87-103.

Easter March from Aldermaston to London sometimes included thousands of demonstrators. However, the unilateralists were not ignorant of the fact that the most effective means by which they could implement their policy would be to take over one of the two major political parties. While the unilateralists as a whole tended to eschew conventional politics, some of their supporters and friends within the Labor movement sought to convert the Labor Party to the unilateralist position. Given the pacifistic elements in the Labor Party's tradition, this might not seem to be too difficult a problem.

THE UNIONS AND THE 1960 PARTY CONFERENCE

The major obstacles to any such takeover of the Labor Party, of course, were the trade unions who had traditionally opposed the pacifist elements in the Party. When Frank Cousins came to power in the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1956, there emerged a possibility that he might be willing to ally with the unilateralists. Cousins was of a far more radical turn of mind than either Charles Deakin or Ernest Bevin who had preceded him as General Secretaries of the Transport Workers. The penetrations of the unilateralists into other unions was suggested in 1959 when the most conservative of Britain's six largest unions, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers temporarily joined the unilateralist camp.⁴

⁴The National Union of General and Municipal Workers was reported to have voted for the unilateralist resolution while some seventy-five conference delegates were absent at the beach or on the way home. "Labour and the Bomb," The Economist (June 13, 1959), pp. 998-999.

Many union conferences in 1959 and 1960 began to go on record as favoring some sort of unilateral disarmament. The Transport Workers did it in 1959 at their biennial conference. While the General and Municipal Workers did not repeat their action of 1959, only one other of the six largest unions, the National Union of Mineworkers, indicated its opposition to the unilateralists. The Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers, and the National Union of Railwaymen all cast their lot with the unilateralists. A foretaste of what would happen at the 1960 Labor Party conference was suggested one month earlier at the Trades Union Congress meeting on the Isle of Man. The Trades Union Congress voted in favor of a unilateralist resolution. A crisis was averted only by making the Congress look ridiculous when it also approved a resolution theoretically opposing the unilateralists. This had come about because Sir William Carron, the President of the Engineers, had been able to persuade his delegation to vote both ways.⁵ Carron was opposed to the unilateralists and hoped thereby to postpone any final decision. At the Labor Party conference, he was not to have this option.

Thus, on Wednesday, October 5, 1960, at the conclusion of a long debate over the Party leadership's statement on Foreign Policy and Defence, the Labor Party conference defeated the leadership and in place of its statement, adopted a unilateralist resolution moved by

The decision was speedily reversed at a recalled conference a few weeks later. "Labour's Way Out," The Economist (August 29, 1959), p. 615.

⁵ The Times (London) (September 8, 1960), pp. 7, 12. The Engineers' position was termed "schizophrenic" by a number of the delegates to the Congress.

the Amalgamated Engineering Union which not only advocated Britain's giving up all of her own nuclear capability, but also advocated Britain's refusing to continue to allow American nuclear weapons to be based in Britain.⁶ A particularly sore point in this regard was the American submarine base at Holy Loch in Scotland.

The action was not unexpected, and, in the course of the debate, Hugh Gaitskell, the Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, began the next state of the dispute when he said:

I say this to you: we may lose the vote today and the result may deal this Party a grave blow. It may not be possible to prevent it, but I think there are many of us who will not accept that this blow need be mortal, who will fight and fight and fight again to save the Party we love. We will fight and fight and fight again to bring back sanity and honesty and dignity so that our party with its great past may retain its glory and its greatness.⁷

Gaitskell's open announcement that he was prepared to defy the conference decision if he did not agree with it marked the opening of a struggle concerning the source of legitimate authority within the Party.⁸

Gaitskell's position is basic to all that follow. Had he not opposed the

⁶The text of the Amalgamated Engineers' resolution is found in Labour Party Annual Conference, Report (1960), p. 176. Sir William Carron, the union's President, refused to move the resolution as was customary and it was left to another member of the delegation to make this crucial move. A milder and confused resolution was moved by Frank Cousins of the Transport and General Workers' Union. His union's delegation had been mandated to support it, but they voted for the Amalgamated Engineering Union resolution as well.

⁷Ibid., p. 201.

⁸For a general discussion of the decision making process within the Labor Party during these two years when it was torn by the defence dispute, see Leon Epstein, "Who makes Party Policy: British Labour, 1960-61." Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (1962), pp. 165-182.

conference and been willing to abide by its decision, the conflict between the unions and Party would have ended almost before it began; had the Parliamentary Party been willing to abide by the conference decision, our discussion of cross pressures on the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament would have been rendered academic. As it was, the politicians soon found that they must back one side or the other.

For informational purposes, the following table shows the position on the unilateralist resolution at the 1960 Party conference of those unions sponsoring Members in the 1959-1964 Parliament. There were eight unions, sponsoring 41 Members, that supported the unilateralist position. There were eleven unions, sponsoring 50 Members, that opposed the unilateralists. Two of the 93 trade union sponsored Members elected in 1959 had died or resigned from Parliament prior to this time.

Of course, this is something of an over-simplification. Most of the unions had fairly serious internal divisions on the question. Even within the Transport and General Workers' Union there was a significant element which opposed Cousins and the unilateralists. It had been a Transport Workers' resolution (theoretically not opposing The North Atlantic Alliance) which had led to the confused results at the 1960 Trades Union Congress. The Miners' support of the official multilateralist position must be qualified by the knowledge that the union did this only over the objections of several of its components. Had the unilateralists in the Yorkshire Miners' Association been able

TABLE 8

UNION POSITION AT 1960 PARTY CONFERENCE

Unions Supporting the A. E. U. Resolution	Unions Opposing the A. E. U. Resolution
Transport and General Workers' Union, 14* Amalgamated Engineering Union, 8 Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers, 8 National Union of Railwaymen, 5 Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 3 National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, 1 National Union of Vehicle Builders, 1 National Union of Public Employees, 1	National Union of Mineworkers, 30 Transport Salaried Staffs Association, 5 National Union of General and Municipal Workers, 4 National Union of Agricultural Workers, 2 Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, 1 Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, 1 United Patternmakers Association, 1 Typographical Association, 1 United Textile Factory Workers Association, 1 British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, 2

Source

The record of the union position at the 1960 Party conference is taken from Keith Hindell and Philip Williams, "Scarborough and Blackpool: An Analysis of Some Votes at the Labour Party Conferences of 1960 and 1961," The Political Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 3 (July-September, 1962), p. 309.

*The number following the name of each union is the number of Members which the union had in the House of Commons on December 13, 1960. It includes only those Members elected at the General Election of 1959. It does not include Members who had entered the House of Commons since the general elections. Nor does it include Members who may have been adopted by unions since the election.

to capture control of that organization, they might have been able to ally with the Communist controlled Scottish and South Wales miners to defeat the multilateralists from Durham, the West Midlands, and Nottinghamshire. As it was, the multilateralists just barely managed to retain control of the Yorkshire Miners' Association.⁹

The three remaining major unions supporting the unilateralists were also deeply divided. The Engineers' unilateralism was the result of Communist infiltration of the union's power structure aided by the cumbersome, indirect electoral system used in the union. The fact that the union's President was opposed to the unilateralists could not alter the situation. The Shopworkers apparently supported the unilateralists for two reasons. The union has strong links with the Co-operative societies and just ten days prior to the union's conference in 1960, the Co-operative Party had come out for unilateralism. Undoubtedly, this decision influenced some of the delegates to the Shopworkers meeting. Secondly, some of the support for the unilateralists may have been a result of the split in the Labor Party in 1959 over Clause Four dealing with nationalization. Hugh Gaitskell's attempt to change this portion of the Labor Party constitution stirred many members and may have led to the disenchantment of many Shopworkers with any policy he proposed.¹⁰ The National Union of Railwaymen also joined

⁹Alan Fox, "The Unions and Defense," Socialist Commentary, XXV (February, 1961), p. 5.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 7.

with the unilateralists, but its decision at the 1960 Annual General Meeting had come by a one vote margin. How strong would be their commitment to unilateralism on the basis of this one vote was a moot point.

The internal divisions of the unions were further aggravated by the fact that in three of the unilateralist unions, the union leaders differed with the policy which their delegations to the 1960 Party conference had been instructed to follow. At the end of October, Mr. Alan Birch (General Secretary, Shopworkers), Sir William Carron (President, Amalgamated Engineering Union, and Mr. Sidney Green (General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen) joined with seventeen other union leaders to announce their personal support for Mr. Gaitskell and the multilateralist position.¹¹ Thus, while the voting at the Party conference tended to make everything seem clear-cut, behind this voting lay a host of confusing and conflicting forces.

Gaitskell's speech to the 1960 Party conference initiated an attempt by the multilateralists to make some use of the internal divisions within the trade union world. They launched a campaign to convert the unions back to the official defence policy. The divisions within the unions meant that they would find many allies. The organization used by the multilateralists was finally given the name of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism. It was hoped that this organization would

¹¹Lawrence Thompson, "Twenty Union Chiefs for Gaitskell," The Observer (London) (October 30, 1960). The reverse of this was to be seen in the National Union of Vehicle Builders which voted to join the multilateralists over the objections of their leaders. The Daily Telegraph (London) (June 9, 1961).

create enough rank and file pressure to persuade the unions to change their position before the 1961 Party conference so that the split within the Party could be ended.

GAITSKELL AND THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY:

SUPPORT, OPPOSITION, AND REVOLT

Gaitskell's defiance of the 1960 Party conference created problems for the unilateralists. They may have won the Party conference, but they still had to secure the compliance of the Parliamentary Party. As if to facilitate their efforts, Gaitskell's open defiance of the Conference had earned for him the criticism of some who, while not being unilateralists, felt that he was needlessly splitting the Party. In an almost unprecedented move, Gaitskell's opponents offered Harold Wilson as an alternative candidate for the leadership of the Parliamentary Party for the 1960-1961 Parliamentary session. In the contest, the Members demonstrated their support for Gaitskell by giving him a two-to-one margin over Wilson.¹² In late November, 1960, they further demonstrated their support for Gaitskell in the annual election of the twelve members of the Party's Parliamentary Committee. Three of Gaitskell's supporters, Michael Stewart, Ray Gunter, and Douglas Houghton, were added to it and the votes for Wilson and Fred Lee (an ally of Wilson's) were sharply reduced. Wilson had

¹²The actual vote was 166 for Gaitskell and 81 for Wilson. The Times (London) (November 4, 1960), p. 12.

received the highest number of votes in the election to the Parliamentary Committee in 1959. In 1960 he ranked ninth out of twelve (although by 1961 he had climbed once again to first place).¹³ Partially responsible for the changes in the Parliamentary Committee in 1960 was a bloc of some 70 "loyal" trade unionists.¹⁴

Confirming the press reports of support for Gaitskell among the trade union sponsored Members, Charles Pannell, M. P., the secretary of the Trade Union Group, wrote in his report on the Group's activities for 1959-1960:

We come together again at a moment of crisis. The Party Conference, by a small majority, finds itself at variance with the overwhelming majority of the Parliamentary Party and the decision of the Trade Union Congress.

Our tradition in the past has been to assert that we are not a pressure group and so we have concentrated our energies on industrial matters. In the new and strained situation of today, while still wishing to maintain the principle that there shall not be parties within the Party, nevertheless we as the trustees of those who founded this Party and for whom it primarily exists, must now consider whether we should widen the scope of our discussions so that with colleagues of like mind we may ensure the effective electoral continuance of our Movement.¹⁵

It took little effort to realize that Pannell was suggesting that the

¹³R. M. Punnett, "The Labour Shadow Cabinet, 1955-64," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1964-1965), p. 62.

¹⁴The Times (London) (November 18, 1960), p. 14. Prior to the election of the Parliamentary Committee, it was reported that the Trade Union Group was circulating a list of "12 recommended names" favourable to Gaitskell. The Times (London) (November 10, 1960); The Daily Telegraph (London) (November 12, 1960).

¹⁵Parliamentary Labour Party, Trade Union Group, Report (1959-1960), p. 3 (Mimeographed). I am indebted to Charles Pannell, M. P., the Honorary Secretary of the Trade Union Group, for access to these reports.

Trade Union Group should consider taking a more active part in the dispute with the unilateralists.

Division 22

There was still very little information available which would provide a guide to how individual parliamentarians felt in the controversy. The secret ballot used in the electoral contests of the Parliamentary Party and the behind-the-scenes activity of the Trade Union Group offered little public information on what individuals felt or did. But it was not long before the degree to which Gaitskell's defiance of the Party conference had affected the Parliamentary Party became public knowledge. On December 13, 1960, the Opposition introduced a motion in the House of Commons which was critical of the Government's defence policies. But this censure motion did not go so far as to accept the unilateralist position.¹⁶ When the House divided on this motion, the Opposition was only able to muster 163 votes. In spite of a Three Line Whip, 92 members of the Opposition failed to vote in the division. This was the high point of unilateralism in the Parliamentary Labor Party.¹⁷ The following list includes all of the trade unionists who failed to vote in this division.

¹⁶Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1960-1961), Vol. 632, cols. 219-354 (December 13, 1960).

¹⁷Leon Epstein, "New M. P. s and the Politics of the P. L. P. , " Political Studies, X (1962), p. 122. An alternative source for data on the position of individual Members of Parliament in the controversy is found in the publication of the pro-Gaitskell Campaign for Democratic

TABLE 9

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS WHO DID NOT VOTE IN DIVISION 22

Member	Union	Known Deliberate Abstentions*
Awbery, S.	T. G. W. U.	yes
Beaney, A.	N. U. M.	?
Boardman, H.	U. S. D. A. W.	?
Collick, P. H.	A. S. L. E. F.	?
Craddock, G.	U. S. D. A. W.	yes
Davies, S. O.	N. U. M.	yes
Fernyhough, E.	U. S. D. A. W.	?
Hynd, Harry	T. S. S. A.	?
Kelley, R.	N. U. M.	yes
Manuel, A. C.	A. S. L. E. F.	yes
Monslow, W.	A. S. L. E. F.	yes
Oswald, T.	T. G. W. U.	?
Padley, W. R.	U. S. D. A. W.	?
Paton, J.	T. G. W. U.	?
Smith, Ellis	U. P. A.	?
Spriggs, L.	N. U. R.	yes
Swain, T. H.	N. U. M.	yes
Taylor, H. Bernard	N. U. M.	?
Tomney, F.	N. U. G. M. W.	?
Watkins, T. E.	N. U. G. M. W.	?
Williams, D. J.	N. U. M.	?
Winterbottom, R. E.	U. S. D. A. W.	?
Woolf, R. E.		

Winterbottom, R. E.
Woof, R. E.

U. S. D. A. W.
N. U. M.

*The last column attempts to indicate whether the Member was recognized as deliberately abstaining in the division by remaining in his seat in the House or whether there might be some alternative explanation. Those Members having "yes" after their name indicates that they deliberately abstained. Those with a "?" after their name may have failed to vote for other reasons.

Sources:

The list is not voting Members of Parliament is based on the official division list of the House of Commons. Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1960-61), Vol. 632, cols. 350-54. Division 22 (December 13, 1960).

The sponsoring unions are taken from the Labour Party Annual Conference, Report (1959); pp. 179-201 (Appendix X).

The date in the third column dealing with the known deliberate abstainer is taken from the following newspapers. The Daily Telegraph (London) (December 14, 1960), p. 1; Ibid. (December 15, 1960), p. 24; The Daily Herald (London) (December 14, 1960), p. 9; Ibid. (December 15, 1960), p. 9.

Of the total number of 92 abstentions by Labor Members in Division 22 of December 13, 1960, there were 23 trade unionists. As we might have expected from other studies of the part of the trade unionists in revolts against the Parliamentary leadership, the trade unionists are under-represented.¹⁸ They constitute only one-fourth of the rebels in Division 22 when they constitute over one-third of the Parliamentary Party as a whole.

The 92 Members who failed to vote in Division 22 were not all unilateralists. One report divided the abstainers into three groups. The first included about 20 Members who had been prevented from voting by illness or other non-political reasons. Some of these men were paired with Conservatives and no particular significance could be ascribed to their absence. There were another 20 Members who only quarrelled with Gaitskell's defiance of the Party Conference. This left only about 52 hard-core unilateralists.¹⁹ In the above table, we

Socialism. For example, see "M.P.'s Support the Campaign," Campaign, No. 3 (March, 1961). The listings given there, however, are quite incomplete and not always reliable.

¹⁸Most studies of the Parliamentary Labor Party support this conclusion that the trade unionists have a long-standing reputation for loyalty to the Parliamentary Leader, whoever he might be. Epstein, "New M.P.s and the Politics of the P.L.P.," pp. 126-128; W. F. Guttsman, "The Labour Rebels," The Manchester Guardian (April 14, 1955), p. 6; S. E. Finer, H. B. Berrington and D. J. Bartholomew, Backbench Opinion in the House of Commons, 1955-1959 (New York: Pergamon Press, 1961), pp. 136-137; John P. Mackintosh, The British Cabinet (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 498.

¹⁹"Labour," The Economist (December 17, 1960), p. 1214. It is

have used a different classification based on material reported in the press in the two days following the vote.

In the course of the division, a number of Labor Members had made a point of being observed remaining in their places in the House of Commons while the division was in process. Seventy-two Members were reported by the press as doing this.²⁰ The third column in the above table attempts to indicate how many trade unionists were to be found among these deliberate abstainers. It will be noted that if we use this base of 72 abstainers, there are only eight trade unionists to fall into this category. This merely strengthens our earlier observation about their being under-represented.

In the remainder of our analysis we have used the complete list of 23 trade union sponsored Members who did not vote in Division 22. Among those Members who were not observed deliberately abstaining in the division, there seem to be a number whose sympathies one would normally have expected to be with the deliberate abstainers. One such individual is Ernest Fernyhough. Rather than attempting to elevate the motivations of the Members in this division, we have proceeded to use the entire list.

relevant in this regard to note that the number of Labor Members who did not vote in Division 22 of December 13, 1960, is not much larger than Harold Wilson's poll of 81 votes in the leadership in November, 1960.

²⁰ See the Sources for TABLE 9, p. 168.

Keeping in mind the possibility that all of those who did not vote in Division 22 may not have actually be unilateralists, it may be used to cast light on a somewhat different question: To what extent was there a correlation between the unions' position at the 1960 Party conference and the position of their Members in the division of December 13, 1960?²¹ We have attempted to answer this question in the following table.

In constructing Table 10, we have classified the trade unions according to a set of categories devised by Keith Hindell and Philip Williams for their study of voting at the 1960 and 1961 Party Conferences.²² Hindell and Williams used four categories based on the four possible combinations of voting positions on the defense issue at the two Party Conferences. In Table 10, we have excluded one of their categories (unions which changed from multilateralist in 1960 to unilateralist in 1961) because none of the unions in it had sponsored successful candidates at the time of the 1959 General Election. Multilateralism ("M.M.") is defined as voting for the Party's July, 1960, statement on Foreign Policy and Defence at the 1960 conference and for the Party's February, 1961, statement, "Policy for Peace," at

²¹This procedure is suggested by Martin Harrison, The Trade Unions and the Labor Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), pp. 204-214.

²²Keith Hindell and Philip Williams, "Scarborough and Blackpool: an Analysis of Some Votes at the Labour Party Conferences of 1960 and 1961," The Political Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 3 (July-September, 1962), p. 309.

TABLE 10

POSITION OF TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN DIVISION 22 IN RELATION
TO UNION VOTES AT THE 1960 AND 1961 LABOR PARTY CONFERENCES

PARTY CONFERENCE POSITION	UNION	TOTAL M.P.s	DIVISION 22 OF 13 DECEMBER 1960		
			OBEYING THREE LINE WHIP	NOT VOTING	DELIBERATE ABSTENTIONS
1	2	3	4	5	6
MULTILATERAL IN 1960 AND 1961 "M.M."	N.U.M.	30	23	7	3
	N.U.G.M.W.	4	2	2	-
	T.S.S.A.	5	4	1	-
	N.U.A.W.	2	2	-	-
	U.P.W.	2	2	-	-
	B.I.S.A.K.T.A.	2	2	-	-
	A.S.W.	1	1	-	-
	C.A.W.U.	1	1	-	-
	U.P.A.	1	-	1	-
	T.A.	1	1	-	-
	U.T.F.W.A.	1	1	-	-
	Subtotal	50	39	11	3
UNILATERAL IN 1960; MULTILATERAL IN 1961 "U.M."	A.E.U.	8	8	-	-
	U.S.D.A.W.	8	3	5	1
	N.U.R.	5	4	1	1
	N.U.T.G.W.	1	1	-	-
	N.U.V.B.	1	1	-	-
	A.S.L.E.F.	1	1	-	-

UNILATERAL IN 1960: "U. M."	N. U. V. B. A. S. L. E. F.	1 3	1 -	1 -	2 2
Subtotal		26	17	9	4
UNILATERAL IN 1960 AND 1961 "U. U."	T. G. W. U. N. U. P. E.	14 1	11 1	3 -	1 -
Subtotal		15	12	3	1
TOTALS		91	68	23	8

Sources:

For columns 1, 2, and 3, see p. 163, Table 8. For columns 4, 5, and 6, see p. 169, Table 9.

the 1961 conference. Opponents to these statements were classified as unilateralist unions ("U. U. "). Unions which opposed the 1960 statement but supported the 1961 statement are placed in the intermediate position ("U. M. ").

We may look on Hindell and Williams as providing a measure of the degree to which a particular union was committed to the multilateralist or unilateralist position. A union which supported the multilateralist in both years would be assumed to be more strongly committed to that point of view than a union which changed its position. Similarly, a union which did not alter its support for the unilateralists would be assumed to be more strongly committed to that point of view than one which did change its view. In effect, we have placed the unions on a crude sort of Guttman scale with regard to the defence issue.

Having thus categorized the unions in this way, we are then confronted with the major reason for including the data: To what extent did Members sponsored by particular unions agree or disagree with their unions? Using the material presented in Table 10, we are able to rearrange it for Table 11. The inspection of the reordered data will reveal no systematic correlation between the union position and the position of their sponsored Members.

In Table 11 we have ignored the individual unions for the moment, and simply classified the Members as to whether they agreed with or disagreed with their unions. For unions which were multilateralist in both 1960 and 1961 (M. M.), agreement is defined as obeying the

TABLE 11

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AGREEMENT OR
DISAGREEMENT WITH SPONSORING UNION

Union Position	Agree with Union	Disagree with Union	Total
M. M.	39	11	50
U. M.	9	17	26
U. U.	3	12	15
Total	59	32	91

$$\chi^2 = 35.9 \quad P > .05 \quad df = 2$$

Three Line Whip in Division 22. For unions which changed from unilateralist in 1960 to multilateralist in 1961, agreement has been defined as not voting in Division 22. We have done this on the grounds that most unions which altered their position did not do so until some time after the start of 1961. In December, 1960, they were still officially supporting the unilateralists. For unions which supported the unilateralists in both years, parliamentary agreement has also been defined as not voting in Division 22. While this is obviously not definitive evidence, it offers strong support to the argument that the sponsored Members' behavior in the House of Commons as regards voting, at least, is not subject to control by unions.²³

²³At least one sponsored Member who failed to vote in Division 22 seemed to be unaware of his union's position in the defence dispute. Interview with E. Fernyhough, M. P., June 29, 1964. If the Member

More detailed analysis of the Members of Parliament sponsored by the miners' union supports this conclusion. If we compare the positions of the regional components of the National Union of Mineworkers at the union's 1960 conference with the position of their sponsored Members of Parliament in Division 22, we have the following results:

TABLE 12

RELATION OF UNION REGION POSITION AT MINERS' UNION
CONFERENCE AND DIVISION 22 VOTE OF MEMBERS
SPONSORED BY THE MINERS' UNION - I

Position at the 1960 Union Conference	Union Region	Division 22		
		Voted	Abstained	Total
Unilateralist ("U")	Scotland	3	-	3
	South Wales	5	2	7
	Derbyshire	1	1	2
Multilateralist ("M")	Yorkshire	5	2	7
	Durham	6	1	7
	Nottinghamshire	-	1	1
Unknown	Northumberland	1	-	1
	Northwestern	2	-	2

Eliminating the separate region and the unknowns from the above table and reorder the data to show agreement or disagreement between the Member of Parliament and his sponsoring region's position, we have the following:

was unaware of his union's position, it would suggest that the union failed to make any real attempt to influence the Member's behavior and that the Member did not expect to be influenced or controlled by the union.

TABLE 13

RELATION OF UNION REGION POSITION AT MINERS' UNION
 CONFERENCE AND DIVISION 22 VOTE OF MEMBERS
 SPONSORED BY THE MINERS' UNION - II

Region's Position	Members' Position (As Shown in Division 22)		
	Agree with Region	Disagree with Region	Totals
"U"	3	9	12
"M"	11	4	15
Totals	14	13	27

$$X^2 = 6.2$$

$$P > .05$$

$$df = 1$$

Just as our analysis of the entire group of trade union sponsored Members suggested, the mining sponsored Members of Parliament show no evidence of agreement in Division 22 between themselves and their sponsoring areas within the National Union of Mineworkers. For a majority of the Members sponsored by the miners' union, as well as for a majority of all the trade union sponsored Members, the expectation of party loyalty seemed to take priority over any union expectations of loyalty to the sponsoring organizations.

Union-Member Relation: Role Confusion and Potential Influence

The lack of any significant correlation between the positions of the unions and their sponsored Members might be used to suggest the

failure of the unions to control their parliamentary representatives, but it does not prove that the unions actually made any attempt to influence the Members. To find evidence of attempted or potential influence, we must look elsewhere. One fertile source of evidence for the existence of potential influence is on union records and reports. The record of union conferences in 1960, 1961, and 1962, offers a number of samples of attempts to make the sponsored Members of Parliament responsible to the unions for their actions. Of the nineteen unions sponsoring successful candidates at the time of the 1959 General Election, eight are known to have shown some evidence during 1961 and 1962 of dissatisfaction with the conduct of their parliamentary representatives. These eight unions sponsored 76 of the 91 sponsored Members remaining in the House of Commons on December 13, 1960. In the following table we have presented in summary form the evidence pertaining to potential influence of the unions on their sponsored Members, and Members on the unions.

How serious was this attempted or potential influence? In no case did the criticism of the Member or Members secure official union support.²⁴ Beyond this, the precise strength of the critics is difficult to determine. In only one union conference did the issue actually come to a vote for which we have the results of the poll.

²⁴Some Members commented that the attitude of the union leadership was frequently one of the major reasons why they were not subject to pressures from the union. Interview with E. A. Fitch, M.P., July 22, 1964.

TABLE 14

UNIONS AND POTENTIAL

UNION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	NO COMMENTS	TYPE OF	
			CRITICISM IN DEBATE	MOTION ON LABOR PARTY CON WITH PAR
N. U. M.	30	- ^a	yes	
T. G. W. U.	14	-	-	
A. E. U.	8	-	-	
U. S. D. A. W.	8	-	yes	
N. U. R.	5	-	yes	
N. U. G. M. W.	4	-	-	
U. P. W.	2	-	yes	
T. S. S. A.	5	-	-	
A. S. L. E. F.	3	yes ^b	-	
N. U. P. E.	1	yes	-	
A. S. W.	1	yes ^c	-	

Source:

The precise citations for the information included in the above TABLE will be found in the conference records of the following unions:

- 1) National Union of Agricultural Workers
- 2) British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association
- 3) National Union of Textile and Garment Workers
- 4) National Union of Vehicle Builders

- 5) Clerical
- 6) United P
- 7) Typogra
- 8) United T

Since these unions sponsor only 10 Members of Parliament, the lack of reference to

^a" " no action by either union or Members.

^bWe were not able to actually see the conference records of the Amalgamated Society of Assistant General Secretary looked through the records and reported that there were no references. Interview with Mr. Bucton, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of L

^cThe lack of interest in the Railway Engineers union also appeared among the Members. In a speech to the union meeting in 1960 and 1961 there was no mention of the dispute. No one chose to answer after the speeches. See Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Conference Report, pp. 131-133, 281-288.

TABLE 1
D POTENTIAL INFLUENCE

UNION ACTION		MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ACTION AGAINST UNION
MOTION ON LABOUR PARTY COMPLIANCE WITH PARTY CONFERENCE	MOTION ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	
-	yes	yes
yes	yes	yes
yes	-	yes
-	-	-
yes	yes	-
yes	-	-
-	-	-
yes	yes	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-

TABLE will be found in the following pages. It was not possible to see con-

- Clerical and Administrative Workers Union
- United Patternmakers Association
- Typographical Association
- United Textile Factory Workers Association

ence to them will not materially affect the following argument.

ated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, but their
e were no references to the sponsored Members of Parliament.
ty of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, August 15, 1964.

ng the Woodworkers. In the sponsored Member's of Parliament
ute. Nor was it mentioned in any of the questions that the Member
s, Conference Reports (1960), pp. 128-130, 282-290; Ibid., (1961),

Elsewhere, it was restricted to the public utterances of one or two delegates or to resolutions which were proposed but failed for one reason or another to come up for consideration at the conferences or to resolutions which were defeated without any indication of the strength of their support. That the potential influence was the result of minority action is clear. But the strength of this minority is not known.

Criticism in Debate at Union Conferences

In three instances, the potential influence was restricted to very brief outbursts during debate at the unions' conferences. The National Union of Mineworkers witnessed criticism of sponsored Members who did not follow the Party Conference with special reference to Roy Mason, M.P. Mason had taken the initiative to have printed and distributed at union meetings a number of pamphlets which attacked the unilateralists, the opponents of training German troops in Wales, and the American Polaris base at Holy Loch in Scotland.²⁵ The attack on Mason was made by Mr. R. Beamish, a delegate from South Wales, who was moving the unilateralist resolution at the Miners' 1961 conference.

In the Shopworkers' union the criticism actually did not come until the year after the dispute, until 1962. Then, with reference to the defence dispute, one delegate asked:

²⁵National Union of Mineworkers, Annual Conference Report (1961), pp. 304-305.

My branch wishes to know whether it has been necessary during the year to take action against any of our Parliamentary representatives for failure to support Union policy in the House, and whether it is or not, will the Executive Council advise us as to what form such action would take.²⁶

In reply, the union's President, Walter Padley, himself a sponsored Member of Parliament, suggested the attitude of the union leaders toward such criticism.

The answer to that is that no action has been taken. The conduct of our Members of Parliament is governed by the rules relating to the Parliamentary Representation Scheme, which are at the end of the Rule Book. You will notice that Members of Parliament are subject to the Whips of the Parliamentary Labour Party.²⁷

It is not without a slight touch of irony that we point out that Padley had been one of the Members who failed to vote in Division 22.

In the case of both the Miners and the Shopworkers, the constitutional theory which underlay the criticism of the parliamentary representatives was not made explicit. This lack was corrected by a delegate to the 1961 Postoffice Workers' conference. The delegate's speech was reported as follows:

The 1960 decision of the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough reflected the views of the lay membership of the Party. Since its inception the Party had accepted that the annual Conference was its sovereign body. That was precisely the view which they, in the U.P.W., took. Therefore, who were they to say that

²⁶Union of Shop, Distributive, and Allied Workers, Report of Conference Proceedings (1962), p. 17.

²⁷Ibid. That Padley's views are shared by other leaders of his union was suggested in an interview with Mr. Cyril Hammet, Chief Administrative Officer, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, August 10, 1964. Cf. Harrison, pp. 293-294.

the Labour Party should do otherwise? He hoped they would not. The Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party had, however, said otherwise and they had sought to reverse the Annual Conference decision. But who were they to presume to take it upon themselves to reverse the democratic decision of the Labour Party's annual conference? What right had they to do so? They had no right. To draw an analogy, it was as if the E. C. of the U. P. W. completely reversed a decision taken at the Annual Conference during that very week. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE WAS THAT WHEREAS THE U. P. W. MEMBERSHIP ELECTED THE E. C., THE LAY MEMBERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY DID NOT ELECT THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY.²⁸ (emphasis added)

Note the ignoring of the idea that Members of Parliament might have some responsibility to the people who elected them, to their constituents, or to any of their other clientele such as party. We could have no clearer expression of the radical, anti-parliamentary tradition which undergirded the attempts to make the sponsored Members responsible to their unions, and which contributed to the role confusion affecting the trade unions' parliamentary representatives.

Parliamentary Party Compliance with Party Conference Decisions

In addition to this criticism in debate at the conferences of the three unions, several other unions witnessed a somewhat stronger display of rank and file sentiment. Resolutions were introduced at their conferences which called for the compliance by the Parliamentary Labor Party with the decisions of the Party Conference. This was the logical extension of the criticism voiced in the three unions mentioned above.

²⁸Union of Postoffice Workers, Annual Conference Report (1961), p. 46.

A resolution of this sort was proposed at the Amalgamated Engineering Union conference in 1961.²⁹ The resolution failed to come up for discussion so there is no real way to determine the precise amount of support which it might have been able to secure.

Two staunch multilateralist unions also were confronted with attacks on the independence of the Parliamentary Party. In the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, a resolution calling for compliance of the Parliamentary Party with Party Conference decisions was soundly defeated.³⁰ The leaders of the General and Municipal Workers had learned their lesson in 1959 and were not about to let the unilateralists make any gains here. The other union was the Transport Salaried Staffs Association, the union of the white collar employees of the British railways. The Association was confronted with a resolution calling for the priority of the Party Conference decisions and an amendment to this resolution would have required members of the union's parliamentary panel to agree to this conference domination.³¹ Both the amendment and the resolution were defeated. In neither of these unions was it possible to determine the amount of

²⁹Amalgamated Engineering Union, Report of Proceedings of the National Committee (1961), p. 232. The conference also had a resolution praising its sponsored Members of Parliament which was not considered. Ibid., p. 239.

³⁰National Union of General and Municipal Workers, Report of Congress (1961), pp. 324-329. Resolution 110.

³¹Transport Salaried Staffs Association, Annual Delegate Conference (1961), Minutes, p. 45. Resolution 162.

support which the attacks on the independence of the Members of Parliament received, even in defeat.

Compliance with Union Conference Decisions

The Miners. --In three unions there was specific action aimed directly at sponsored Members who failed to support the general unilateralist cause. The first of these was the National Union of Mineworkers to which we have already referred. In keeping with the curiously decentralized organization of the mineworkers and the fact that on the national level, the union was supporting the multi-lateralist point of view, criticism aimed at the parliamentary representatives came from a regional component of the union. The Derbyshire Miners' Association sponsored two Members: Thomas Swain and Harold Neal. In Division 22, Swain lived up to his left wing reputation by being one of those who publicly abstained. Neal, on the other hand, had followed the leadership of the Parliamentary Party in the Division. In response to this and to Neal's failure to oppose the Holy Loch Polaris base, the Derbyshire Area Council adopted the following resolution:

That this Branch of the N.U.M. Derbyshire Area protests against our representative in the Miners' Parliamentary Group in failing to support the protests against the installation of the Polaris base, when it was raised in the recent debate at Westminster.³²

³²Letter from Mr. H. Wynn, Secretary, Derbyshire Area, National Union of Mineworkers, August 17, 1964.

The resolution was approved by the Area Council on December 28, 1960, by a vote of 31 to 11. When questioned about the resolution by the press, the area secretary stated: "This was a direct protest against Mr. Neal's action. He observed the official Labour Party line. He should have followed our dictate."³³ There was obviously no question about whom the Derbyshire miners thought the Member of Parliament should be responsible to.

The Railwaymen. --The National Union of Railwaymen was one of the unions which supported the unilateralists in 1960, but it had done so by a bare one vote margin at its own conference. The results of the conflict between the Parliamentary Party and the Party Conference (and the split within the Parliamentary Party) had their impact within the union. In 1961, its Annual General Meeting was confronted with a resolution attacking the National Union of Railwaymen's sponsored Members' failure to comply with the Party Conference decision and a resolution attacking the union's parliamentary representatives for their failure to obey the decisions of the union's conference. (In the crucial Division 22, only one of the union's five sponsored Members had abstained.)

The first resolution merely called for compliance with Party Conference decisions by the unions' Members of Parliament. The text of the resolution said:

³³The Times (London) (December 29, 1960), p. 3; Cf. The Sunday Express (London) (January 1, 1961).

That the Annual General Meeting reaffirms the policy on defence supported and agreed at the 1960 Labour Party conference, and instructs the National Executive Committee to use its every resource in furtherance of that policy with organizations to whom we are affiliated. Further that an instruction be issued to all members of our Parliamentary Panel to abide by and support decisions agreed at the National Conference of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.³⁴

We are unable to determine the degree of support for this resolution since it failed to come up for action at the union's conference.³⁵

The second Railwaymen's resolution was much stronger and took even more specific note of the union's parliamentary representatives.

The text of the resolution read as follows:

That this Annual General Meeting notes that some of the N. U. R. Parliamentary Group have publicly dissociated themselves from the policy of the Union [on disarmament] as laid down by the 1960 A. G. M.

This meeting decides that any member of this Union's Parliamentary Panel who opposes Union policy (as decided by Annual General Meetings) shall be required to resign from this Parliamentary Panel with the loss of the privileges this Union gives in financial support.³⁶

In concerning itself with compliance by the Members with union policy, this resolution takes an even more restricted view of the source of legitimate authority within the Labour movement than had most of the resolutions which had come up in other unions. Adoption of the

³⁴National Union of Railwaymen, Annual General Meeting (1961), (hereafter cited as Railwaymen), Agenda, p. 20. Resolution 21.

³⁵Ibid. It was withdrawn in favour of a resolution on the general issue of defense policy with no reference to the Parliamentary Labor Party or to the union's Parliamentary Panel. Ibid., pp. 166-177. Resolution 179.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 19-20. Resolution 18.

resolution by the Railwaymen would have meant that the union could hardly hope to be allowed to continue to sponsor parliamentary candidates within the Labor Party. The difficulties involved in meeting these requirements would have created even more conflict and confusion for the Member of Parliament, as he sought to also satisfy the expectations of his other clientele.

During the debate on this resolution, there seemed to be considerable feeling on the part of some of the delegates to the union meeting that the Members should try to follow union policy if they expected to continue to receive financial support from the union.³⁷

At the same time, other delegates pointed out that the Members did not receive enough support from the union to adequately justify this claim.³⁸

The strongest speech against the resolution was made by the union's General Secretary, S. F. Greene, who raised three points

³⁷See the comments of Messrs. D. F. Everson and S. R. Mills at the union's conference. Railwaymen, Proceedings, Vol. I (First Day), pp. 23-25.

Mr. Stan Mills' comments are particularly interesting in light of the difficulty he had been having in securing Labor Party approval as being available for nomination as a parliamentary candidate. The National Union of Railwaymen's Executive Committee, Political Subcommittee, seemed hesitant about pushing for Mill's inclusion on the Party's List B of available potential candidates. See, National Union of Railwaymen, Proceedings and Reports (1962), Part I: Executive Committee Minutes (September, 1962), p. 69, Item 69; Ibid. (December, 1962), pp. 32-39, Item 2914. Mills' name was finally placed on List B in late 1963. Railway Review (January 10, 1964), p. 7.

³⁸Railwaymen, Proceedings, Vol. I (First Day), p. 25. At the time, the union was paying the Members £100 per year in addition to helping with election expenses and constituency upkeep.

to justify his opposition to it. First, he felt that any action by the union could easily result in a breach of Parliamentary privilege, and he made special reference to the Brown case.³⁹ Secondly, he pointed out that the National Union of Railwaymen's rules required the sponsored parliamentary representatives to obey the Whip of the Parliamentary Labor Party and made no reference to agreeing with union policy. Thirdly, he pointed out that there had been other instances when there was conflict between the union and the sponsored Member of Parliament with no action being taken against the Member.⁴⁰

When the resolution was finally put to a vote, it was defeated by a margin of 54 to 22.⁴¹ In this one instance where we are able to determine the degree of support for the attempted union criticism of their parliamentary representatives, the criticism secured the votes of 29% of the delegates in spite of the opposition of the union's own leadership. This is almost the only qualifiable indication of the strength of the anti-parliamentary tradition within the Labor movement which could be found in the defence dispute. While it provides little basis for conclusions about the strength of the tradition in the remainder of the Labor movement, it is perhaps relevant to note that the professional

³⁹Above, pp. 135-138.

⁴⁰Railwaymen, Proceedings, Vol. I (First Day), pp. 30-31. It was not possible to discover the details of the other instances of union-Member conflict to which Greene refers.

⁴¹Railwaymen, Agenda, p. 20.

staff of the National Union of Railwaymen tended to underestimate the actual vote in favor of the criticism until confronted with the record of the union's Annual General Meeting for 1961.⁴²

The Railwaymen also witnessed further attacks on its sponsored Members in 1961 during the speech of Ernest Popplewell, M. P., to the conference. Popplewell took the bull by the horns when he told the delegates:

It is as one of your representatives that I am here, who, having secured the confidence of a constituency party, have been elected to Parliament, and am pleased to be one of the small band which reflects the opinions of the Union SO FAR AS IT IS POSSIBLE TO DO SO in this much wider and national field. (emphasis added)

Popplewell went on to say,

Members of Parliament belonging to the N. U. R. have been in considerable difficulties. The constitutional position is that we have four masters and it is natural that we cannot obey all four masters. We do our utmost by close contact and co-operation with Head Office to insure that all actions taken by our organization are followed up AS FAR AS IT IS POSSIBLE TO DO SO.⁴³ (emphasis added)

In the unusual question period that followed his speech, Popplewell was forced to defend Gaitskell's position in the face of hostile attacks

⁴²Interview with Mr. R. A. Morgan, Assistant Private Secretary to the General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen, August 19, 1964. I am indebted to Mr. Morgan and the National Union of Railwaymen Secretarial Department for access to the report of the union's conferences and for access to the Minutes of the Union's Executive Committee.

It may be relevant to note here that several members of the Railwaymen's union staff expressed the casual view that the sponsored Members of Parliament "are expected to follow our policy."

⁴³Railwaymen, Proceedings, Vol. I (Fourth Day), pp. 60-67.

from the delegates to the union meeting.⁴⁴ It is of some significance that it was only in 1961 of the five years, 1959-1964, that the Member's speech to the Annual General Meeting of the union was followed by questions.

The Transport Workers. --Criticism and attacks on sponsored National Union of Railwaymen than it did in any other union sponsoring Members in the 1959-1964 Parliament. Another union, however, saw a different form of conflict between itself and its parliamentary representatives. This was the Transport and General Workers' Union. Frank Cousins was the major leader within the union movement on the unilateralist side of the struggle. His union was one of the two which refused to cease supporting the unilateralists between the Party conferences of 1960 and 1961. The bulk of the Members of Parliament sponsored by his union, on the other hand, took the opposite side of the dispute. Some eleven of the fourteen Members showed their support for Gaitskell in the crucial division of December 13, 1960. George Brown, one of the union's Members, was the Deputy Leader of the Labor Party, the chairman of the Trade Union Group, and a firm

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 68-70. In 1962 Popplewell took a similar independent stand when confronted by union pressure to oppose the entry of Britain into the Common Market. National Union of Railwaymen, Annual General Meeting (1962), Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 469. It might be interesting to speculate on what would have happened if the politicians taking part in these union meetings had been more favorably disposed toward the position advocated by the union or had less of a reputation for party loyalty than did Popplewell, who had been Deputy Chief Whip of the Parliamentary Labor Party prior to the 1959 General Election.

supporter of Gaitskell throughout the dispute.

In the Transport and General Workers' Union, the dispute between the union and the parliamentary representatives took on a more muted tone because of Frank Cousins. The opposition of the parliamentarians, especially that of Brown and Reg Prentice, to the unilateralist position was noted in the report of the 1960 Party Conference published in the official union journal.⁴⁵ The union's annual report for 1960 dealt with the situation as follows:

The Executive Officers have attended meetings of the [Parliamentary] Group on several occasions to discuss Union policy. Particularly important occasions were the various meetings to consider the Foreign Policy and the Defence issue, and also immediately after the General Election to discuss lines of approach in the new Parliament.⁴⁶

The refusal of the Members of Parliament to alter their attitudes on the defence issue and the pressure from the union led to what one Member described as rather "tense and strained" relations between the two at the height of the dispute.⁴⁷

The Transport Workers have a biennial conference. It had last met in 1959, and was, therefore, scheduled to meet again in 1961. As the 1961 conference approached, some 300 resolutions dealing with the defence issue, foreign policy, the Parliamentary group, and union

⁴⁵Tony Corfield, "Fashioning A World of Tomorrow: Report on the Labour Party Conference, 1960," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XL (November, 1960), p. 37.

⁴⁶Transport and General Workers' Union, Annual Report (1960), p. 188.

⁴⁷Interview with a Transport and General Workers' Union sponsored Member of Parliament who asked to remain anonymous. Summer, 1964.

the defence issue, foreign policy, the Parliamentary group, and union procedure--all growing out of the defense dispute--were offered for consideration. At the conference itself, the resolutions dealing with the defense issue were combined into two composite resolutions; one supporting the unilateralist position and affirming the decision of the 1959 union conference, and one supporting the multilateralist position. The composite unilateralist resolution was approved by the conference while the composite resolution supporting the multilateralists was not voted upon.⁴⁸

The questions revolving about the status of the union's sponsored Members of Parliament was not considered by the conference. Cousins avoided any floor action by making an executive statement on the subject. His statement tried to make it clear that

. . . the Union had never tried to impose its views upon the Members of the Union's Parliamentary Group and to make it conditional that they should accept these as a parliamentary instruction. If the line was taken of insisting that Members of the Group should adhere to Union policy decisions it would be questionable whether the Union could lay itself open to a charge of trying to usurp parliamentary functions by seeking to apply policies which might be in direct conflict with the views of their constituents whose interests it was their first duty to represent in matters brought before the House of Commons. Such action could be regarded as a breach of privilege and whilst, obviously, the Union expected the Members concerned to conform in a broad general way of taking note of Union policies determined from time to time, conference would readily recognize the difficulty of making this a continuing obligation upon them.⁴⁹

⁴⁸On this, see the perceptive article by John Cole, "Mr. Cousins Holds Transport Union to Unilateralism," Guardian (London) (July 14, 1961).

⁴⁹Transport and General Workers' Union Conference (1961), Minutes, p. 30. Minute No. 54.

Cousins' statement disposed of a number of resolutions, some of which actually called for the de-sponsorization of the Members who did not follow union policy,⁵⁰ and the union was prevented from taking any formal action against its sponsored Members of Parliament.

We have had reference to the potential influence of the unions on their parliamentary representatives. There seemed to be a clear inability or unwillingness on the part of the unions to force their will on their sponsored Members of Parliament. In addition, it is fairly obvious that the union leaders were unwilling to allow anything to be done which might make it appear as if the unions were trying to coerce or punish the Members of Parliament for what they had done in the House of Commons.

ATTEMPTS OF SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO INFLUENCE THE UNIONS

There is another form of attempted or potential influence which we must make reference to before completing this study. In at least three unions, the parliamentarians (or some of them) were involved in attempts to influence the union. We have already had reference to the activities of Roy Mason which earned him criticism at the 1961 Miners' conference. In the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the sponsored

⁵⁰Ian Coulter, "Toe Cousins Line' Move on M. P. s," Sunday Times (London) (May 7, 1961); Cf. Sunday Telegraph (London) (May 7, 1961).

Members made use of their traditional joint meeting with the Union's Party conference delegation to try to persuade it not to support the unilateralists in 1960. The politicians have no vote when the union's delegation caucuses, but they can take part in its deliberations. Their attempts to persuade the Engineer Party conference delegates in 1960 not to support the unilateralist position were unsuccessful.⁵¹ The sponsored Members also made some use of their opportunity to write regular articles in the union's journal to argue against the unilateralists.⁵² We have no data on the degree to which the efforts of the parliamentarians may have actually aided in converting the Engineers from the unilateralist to the multilateralist position between the 1960 and 1961 Party conferences.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union was not the only union to be the subject of attention from sponsored Members. The Transport and General Workers' Union also came in for its share of attention. George Brown took an especially active part in trying to convince the union of the error of its ways. He made a strong, but ineffective effort to speak to the union conference in 1961.⁵³ In conjunction with the Campaign

⁵¹ The Times (London) (October 5, 1960), p. 12.

⁵² For example, Austin Albu, "Beneath Big Ben," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXVII, No. 7 (July, 1960), p. 207.

⁵³ Brown's attempts to speak to the Transport and General Workers' Conference failed because the union had a rule against officers on leaves of absence (which was Brown's position) being allowed to speak to the conference. See The Times (London) (July 10 and 12, 1961); "Brothers In Conference," The Economist (July 15, 1961), p. 236; and especially John Cole, "Mr. Brown's Challenge to Mr. Cousins," Guardian (London) (July 10, 1961), p. 16.

for Democratic Socialism, he also sought to organize a rally for members of the Transport Workers' Union the night before its 1961 conference was about to begin.⁵⁴ The rally attracted few visitors, but Brown's efforts tended to stir up even more animosity towards the sponsored Members within the union.

ROLE CONFUSION AND THE SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

While the peculiar subject involved in this dispute tends to limit the degree to which it can be used as the basis for broader generalizations, we have suggested that there are elements within the trade union movement who still look on their sponsored Members of Parliament as paid agents of the unions. That this view is at least partially rejected by both the Members and the union leaders is also fairly clear. We say "partially" because of the rather ambiguous personal statements of both groups. As one Member expressed it,

My Union is quite in order, at their annual conference, in making a decision, on a majority vote, in order to try to influence the main body of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress

.

But because my Union--of which I am not an official--never regarded me as a delegate and has never given me one single instruction on how to vote in the fifteen years I have been in Parliament and would deem to do so now, I should take the same line as Mr. George Brown, one of my Union colleagues--he is the shadow Defence Minister. I share his views regarding the position [on the

⁵⁴Ibid. One leading Transport Worker sponsored Member of Parliament commented that, while agreeing with Brown, he felt that poor tactics had been used at the time.

H-Bomb⁵⁵] and I shall remain a loyal supporter of Mr. Gait-skill.

This statement would seem a fair summation of the position of most if not all of the union sponsored Members of Parliament. But the same men frequently state that they are sent to Parliament by their unions to further their unions' interests. It is only when they are pushed on this point that they are prepared to displace the union with their constituents, party, or the nation as a whole.⁵⁶ Their confusion regarding their legislative role is obvious.

When dealing with the trade union officials, we have already had occasion to point out the ambiguous view of the officials of the National Union of Railwaymen.⁵⁷ The same confusion was expressed by Northumberland area Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers when he wrote:

All Miner's sponsored M. P. s are, as you will probably be aware, members of a Miners' Political Group in Parliament seeking to improve the condition of miners in particular, but always, of

⁵⁵George Deer in the Newark Herald (England) (August 1, 1959). Cf. George Deer, "Alive and Kicking," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XL (September, 1960), p. 42.

⁵⁶This was the usual reaction of most of the thirty-odd trade union sponsored Members of Parliament interviewed in the summer of 1964.

⁵⁷Above, pp. 185-190. Cf. the action of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association in 1963. The union's conference failed to reach a resolution which stated: "That this conference deplores the continuing high level of unemployment in Northern Ireland and instructs the T. S. S. A. Members of Parliament in Westminster to initiate, and/or support, motions designed to alleviate this position." (emphasis added) Since the conference was not able to take action on this resolution, the union's leadership made a statement which said: "THE TERMS OF THIS MOTION

course, fully conscious of the fact that all classes of persons in the Constituency must be catered for.⁵⁸

In part this ambiguity is related to the fact that the entire sponsoring system is in transition as we start to gradually move away from the era in which the sponsored Members are active (or retired) trade unionists who are being rewarded with a seat in the best club in England where they could give voice to the union's views. If the change from this type of representation to the younger, better educated technicians which was observed in the years since 1945 continues,⁵⁹ we might expect this ambiguity in the representative role expected of the trade union sponsored Members to decrease, as the unions come more and more to recognize the importance of the expectations of party loyalty regarding the legislative behavior of the sponsored Members. Already there is a good start in this direction, and there seems to be no reason to expect any immediate reversal.

HAVE BEEN CONVEYED TO THE T. S. S. A. MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS." Transport Salaried Staffs Association, Minutes (1963), p. 97 (Resolution No. 180, Minute No. 107).

⁵⁸ Letter from Mr. R. Main, Secretary, Northumberland Area, National Union of Mineworkers, August 17, 1964.. Cf. the comments of another official of the miners' union: "The point you will appreciate here is that all Mining Members of Parliament, including the ones representing South Wales are responsible not to the individual areas but to the National Executive Committee of the miners' union on matters of broad policy." Letter from Mr. D. Francis, Secretary, South Wales Area, National Union of Mineworkers, August 18, 1964.

⁵⁹ Above, pp. 100-108.

CHAPTER V

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY, 1959-1964

In the previous two chapters we were mainly concerned with relations between the Members of Parliament and their sponsoring unions, with special attention being given to the defence dispute of 1960-1961. We now turn our attention to the actual parliamentary or legislative behavior of the sponsored Members. First of all, we look at the activity of the Trade Union Group. What is the place of the Trade Union Group within the Parliamentary Labor Party? What contributions do the sponsored Members make to Party leadership? Secondly, in Chapter VI, we will turn our attention to the contribution of the trade union representatives to the House of Commons as a whole. What part do they play in its proceedings? What form does their contribution to Debate and Question Time take? Finally, we will seek to examine the effect of the sponsored Members' age, education, Parliamentary seniority and electoral majority on their legislative activity.

THE TRADE UNION GROUP

Organization and Leadership

The Parliamentary Labor Party elected to the House of Commons in 1959 had a total of 258 members. Of these, 93 were officially sponsored by one or another trade union.¹ One might have thought that the formalization of sponsoring that came with the adoption of the Hastings Agreement in the 1930's would make the modern-day trade unionists in the House of Commons easy to identify. Actually, there are a number of marginal cases which defy ready classification. For example, Fred Wiley was elected to the House of Commons in 1959 without formal sponsorship by a union. At the time of the 1964 General Election, he was still not officially acknowledged by the Labor Party as a union sponsored candidate. But a list of union sponsored Members of Parliament secured from the Whips' office of the Parliamentary Labor Party in the summer of 1964 indicated that Wiley was sponsored.

Nor can it be said that the list of sponsored Members published by the Labor Party includes all Members of Parliament with close links with one or another trade union. Ted Redhead and Douglas Houghton, for example, were not sponsored despite their well-known ties with trade unions. On the other hand, a trade union sometimes gives aid to Members who do not have close individual ties with the unions, short of full sponsorship. For example, the National Union of General and

¹For a list of these trade union sponsored Members and their sponsoring union, see Appendix VI.

Municipal Workers has a supplementary panel "confined to Members of Parliament . . . whose membership and association with the union, although possibly a long one, has been more political than industrial."²

Despite the existence of such marginal cases, it would seem fair to say that the Members of Parliament officially recognized by the Labor Party as being sponsored by one trade union or another comprise the great bulk of the active or semi-active trade unionists found in the House of Commons. We have, therefore, taken as our operational definition of the trade unionists in the 1959-1964 House of Commons, the official recognition of a Member's being sponsored by a trade union. This recognition is recorded in the Report of the 1959 Labor Party Conference.³ The remaining Labor Members generally did not have such close links with the unions and will be referred to hereafter as either the non-trade union sponsored Labor Members or other Labor Members.

The trade union sponsored Members have their own organization, the Trade Union Group, within the Parliamentary Labor Party. The Group leads something of a dual existence for on the one hand it is merely one of the informal specialist study groups organized within both the Labor and Conservative parties, and on the other hand, it is a closed

²H. R. Roberts, "The Union's Political Representation!" (London: National Union of General and Municipal Workers, n. d.), p. 2 (Mimeographed). Hugh Gaitskell was a member of this supplementary panel.

³Labour Party Conference, Report (1959), pp. 179-201 (Appendix X).

group whose existence is partially independent of the Parliamentary Labor Party. In the first of these two existences, the Group is the Labor Party's study group concerned with industrial relations and labor problems with membership open to all interested Members of the Parliamentary Party. As such, the Group exists to educate and inform the parliamentarians about the nature of some of the problems facing an industrial society.

In its second role, the Group's membership is restricted to parliamentarians who are sponsored by trade unions affiliated to the Labor Party. The Members of the Group tend to look on themselves as the corporate agents of the trade union movement when they are filling this role. Because of its close links with the unions and with trade union political representation which predates the organization of the Labor Party itself, the Group, in the second sense of its existence, is a potential rival to the entire Parliamentary Labor Party.⁴

The dual nature of the Group's existence is formally recognized in its Constitution whose main points are as follows:

- a) It is impossible that the Trade Union Group has the right to mandate its members in any way or for any occasion.

⁴Interview with one of the Whips of Parliamentary Labor Party, Summer, 1964. The Whip asked to remain anonymous. (One of the long-standing complaints of the trade unionists against the middle class members of the Party is their willingness to publicize internal disputes.) Cf. "W and non-W," The Economist (November 7, 1959), pp. 496, 498.

In its second role, the trade union approaches Richard Rose's concept of an "Operational Party." See Richard Rose, "Anatomy of British Political Factions," New Society (October 11, 1962), p. 29.

- b) That we, as a trade union group, should discuss topical issues as they arise from time to time.
- c) That we ask the Parliamentary Committee to pass on to this Group for consideration, any legislation or Statutory Orders likely to touch trade union interests or matters of labour relations.
- d) Arising therefrom we should, when appropriate, try to initiate debates in consultation with the Chief Whip on Motions to be tabled in the names of our members.
- e) That the officers be authorized from time to time to issue press notices.

Potential ambiguity found in these principles were countered by the following clarification of points b), c), and e).

- b) That no vote be taken at any meeting which was likely to be the subject of contemporary consideration by a meeting of the Parliamentary Party except where a Trade Union matter is under discussion.
- c) That in agreeing to pass on to this Group for consideration any legislation or Statutory Orders likely to touch trade union interests and matters of labour relations, it is agreed that this should be an open meeting to allow other Members of the Parliamentary Party not eligible for membership of this Group to be present while such matters are discussed.
- e) That anything arising from the implementation of c), i. e. when the Group is acting as a specialist group of the Party, no Press notice should be issued, the officers to undertake when in doubt to consult the Chief Whip about the issue of Press notices.⁵

Note the very conscious attempt to prevent the Group from exerting any power independently of the Parliamentary Party as a whole, and the weakening of this attempt when strictly trade union matters are concerned.

⁵ Trade Union Group, Parliamentary Labour Party, Report (mimeographed) (Hereafter referred to as Union Group Report) (1957-1958). The Constitution was the result of consultation between the Group's officers and the Whips of the Parliamentary Party.

Functioning under this Constitution, the Group has its own officers and executive committee who provide leadership in its activities. The elections to determine the Group's leaders are partially influenced by currents of opinion in the Parliamentary Party as a whole and partially by the internal policies of the Group itself. In Table 15, we show the officers and members of the Group's executive committee between 1959 and 1964. While there were few changes during

TABLE 15

OFFICER AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
TRADE UNION GROUP BY SESSION

Office	Session				
	59-60	60-61	61-62	62-63	63-64
Chairman	G. Brown	-	-	-	-
Vice	F. Lee	D. Griffiths	-	-	-
Chairmen	E. Popplewell	-	-	-	-
Secretary	C. Pannell	-	-	-	-
Treasurer	J. Slater	-	-	-	-
Executive Committee	N. Edwards	P. Collick	-	-	-
	W. Padley	R. Prentice	-	-	-
	W. R. Williams	-	-	-	H. Randall
	A. V. Hilton	-	-	-	-
	R. Mellish	-	-	-	-

"-" means no change.

this time, three that did occur are worth noting. The defeat of F. Lee, Ness Edwards, and W. Padley in 1900, was a rebuke to the supporters

of Harold Wilson who had sought to defeat Hugh Gaitskell in the contest for the Party leadership in that year.⁶ Lee had been Wilson's "running mate" in the contest while both Padley and Edwards had demonstrated considerable dissatisfaction with Gaitskell's behavior during the defence dispute and his deliberate flaunting of the 1960 Party Conference decision in support of unilateral disarmament.⁷ The only other change that took place was H. Randall's election to the Executive Committee in 1963 as a result of the death of W. R. Williams.

Activity

Functioning as a backbench specialist organization, the Group meets regularly to hear speeches by various people from the world of politics and industry. In 1961-1962, for example, the Group was addressed by: Dr. Richard Beeching (Chairman, British Transport Commission); Hugh Gaitskell; Mr. John Harris (Public Relations Officer, Parliamentary Labor Party); Mr. Gerald Crossdell (General Secretary, British Actors Equity); Mr. Paul Chambers (Chairman of the Board, Imperial Chemical Industries); Mr. John Bevan (Editor, Daily Herald); and Miss Anne Goodwin (Chairman, Trade Union Congress General Council, and General Secretary, Clerical and Administrative

⁶The Daily Telegraph (London) (November 2, 1960). The group does not forgive easily. When Lee and Padley tried for their former positions in 1961, they were again defeated. The Times (London) (November 8, 1961), p. 5; The Manchester Guardian (November 8, 1961).

⁷This does not necessarily mean that the three were unilateralists. They were not.

Workers Union). In addition, there were a number of other speakers on various topics.⁸ As a backbench specialist group, the Group aids in keeping the members of the Parliamentary Labor Party informed of current developments in the fields of industrial and labor relations. And it enables interested Members to formally express their views on such matters so that the leadership of the Party might be able to take them into account. An example of the kind of influence that the specialist group might exert came in 1962-1963, when "There were open meetings with other Members of the Parliamentary Party on the Contracts of Employment Bill. It was the general feeling of the Group that this Bill was mean and nebulous but that it could hardly be opposed on second reading. . . ."⁹

Organized in the second sense to which we have referred, the Group's members tend to look on themselves as the corporate agents of the trade unions in Parliament,¹⁰ and the custodian of all that is best in the Labor tradition.¹¹ Filling this role, the Group occasionally

⁸ Union Group Report (1961-1962), pp. 3-4.

⁹ Ibid., (1962-1963), p. 1.

¹⁰ Richard Marsh, "The P. L. P. and the Trade Unions" (Revised Copy; London: Fabian Society, 1963) (Mimeographed).

¹¹ Interview with Charles Pannell, M. P. (Secretary, Trade Union Group), July 7, 1964. Cf. the remarks of David Griffiths in describing the group. "They were the biggest factor, and the most loyal to the Socialist movement, yet they said the least about it." The Yorkshire Evening Post (June 13, 1960). Cf. Clement Attlee, The Labour Party in Perspective and Twelve Years Later (London: V. Gollancz, 1949), p. 61.

take the initiative both within and without Parliament. Such interventions are varied in nature. Despite its long standing reputation for loyalty to the Leader, the Group is not always uncritical. Hugh Gaitskell's attempts to modify Clause IV of the Party Constitution which dealt with nationalization disturbed many of the veterans in the Group after the 1959 election.¹² The opposition to this and to Gaitskell's alleged too close association with the intellectuals within the Party reached a peak in late 1959 and early 1960,¹³ but was soon overshadowed by the far more serious defence dispute.

The Defence Dispute. --The Group's role in the defence dispute, to which we have already made reference,¹⁴ is a more typical example of the trade unionists acting in support of the Parliamentary leadership. The bitterness of some of the attacks by unilateralists such as K. Zilliacus on Gaitskell following his refusal to comply with the Party conference decision on defence led to the Group's passing a resolution in early November, 1960, which regretted " . . . the public attacks upon the elected Leader of the Party."¹⁵ Spurred on by this action

¹²The Sunday Dispatch (London) (November 1, 1959).

¹³The Observer (London) (November 8, 1959). The partial disenchantment of the trade unionists with Gaitskell contributed to the election of A. Robens, D. Houghton and F. Lee as officer of the Parliamentary Party's Economic Committee and the defeat of Douglas Jay and Roy Jenkins (both were close middle class associates of Gaitskell). The News Chronicle (London) (December 11, 1959). Cf. Rose, p. 31.

¹⁴Above, Chapter IV, pp. 166-168.

¹⁵The Times (London) (November 8, 1960), p. 12; Cf. The Daily Telegraph (London) (November 8, 1960).

E. Popplewell carried the fight to a full meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party on December 14, 1960, which adopted its own resolution against personal attacks. The action initiated by the trade union sponsored Members was so obviously aimed at Zilliacus that one of his allies, Emrys Hughes was quoted as saying that the Group was setting itself up as an amateur inquisition."¹⁶ This action combined with the Group's circulation of a list of twelve "recommended" names for election to the Parliamentary Committee in 1960 left little doubt as to where the bulk of the trade unionists stood in the struggle over the defence policy.

Leadership Fights. --A situation in which the Trade Union Group might have been expected to emerge as an independent force within the Parliamentary Party was in the contest for the leadership following the death of Hugh Gaitskell in 1963. With the Chairman of the Group, George Brown, both Acting Leader of the Party and a major contender for the position of Leader, no moment could have been more auspicious for such a move. But Brown's great strength in the contest, his obvious trade union origin and connections, was also his greatest liability.¹⁷

¹⁶The Daily Telegraph (London) (December 15, 1960), p. 1.
Cf. The Times (London) (December 15, 1960), p. 10.

¹⁷"Some of the trade union M.P.s were unhappy, curiously enough, about his [George Brown's] working-class background." See "Daylight On the Struggle for the Labour Leadership," The Observer (London) (February 17, 1963), p. 7.

As an authentic trade unionist, he could have expected the support of other trade unionists within the Party, but this same trade union background was also viewed by many, including some prominent trade unionists, as a potential liability when the next General Election appeared. The Group in any event could not be bound to support one man.¹⁸

The trade union sponsored Members were as divided as anyone else. Some such as William Blyton, a prominent miner and strong Gaitskellite, or Fred Lee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union were reported to be supporting Harold Wilson. The bulk of the trade union parliamentary representatives, however, were divided between Brown and James Callaghan. The bitterness between the supporters of these two men prevented them from joining forces in the second ballot in the election of the new Leader. As a result, Callaghan was dropped from the race after the first ballot, and most of his votes apparently went to Wilson on the second one.¹⁹

Other Activity. --On a somewhat different topic, the Group also concerned itself with the state of trade unionism within the halls of the

¹⁸The Trade Union Group actually ceased to function during the contest. See Union Group Report (1962-1963), p. 1. Cf. the Group's action in a contest for the Deputy Leadership of the Parliamentary Party in 1961. Ibid. (1961-1962), p. 1.

¹⁹Anthony Howard and Richard West, The Making of the Prime Minister (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 29. In the contest for the leadership, Brown's support was described as deriving from the trade unionists, Strachey's intellectuals and anti-Wilsonites. Anthony Howard, "Choosing the Successor," The New Statesman (January 25, 1963), p. 102. In an interview in the summer of 1964, a leading trade unionist stated that he had not supported Brown for the leadership because of the latter's lack of "emotional stability."

Palace of Westminster. After a number of meetings between the Group's chairman and secretary and the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Speaker was finally persuaded to concede, for the first time, the right of the staff to organize and bargain collectively.²⁰

From time to time the Group also becomes engaged in extra-parliamentary activity. An example of this came during the 1960-1961 session when the Group became interested in the conflict revolving around the Electrical Trades Union. This union, one of Britain's largest, had allegedly come under Communist control as a result of the apathy of its members and elections within the union rigged by the Communists and their allies. After a bitter dispute, the union was finally expelled from the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party because of the irregularities in its internal operations and its Communist domination.²¹

The Group held three "open" meetings to discuss the problem and hear speeches by Mr. John Bryne (non-Communist General Secretary of the union), Mr. George Woodcock (General Secretary, Trades Union Congress), and Lord Citrine (former General Secretary, Trades Union Congress and former Assistant Secretary, Electrical Trades Union). The Group also had one other meeting "for private discussions among members regarding 'next steps.'"²²

²⁰Union Group Report (1959-1960), p. 2; Ibid. (1960-1961), pp. 3-4.

²¹Labour Party Conference, Report (1961), p. 23.

²²Union Group, Report (1960-1961), pp. 2-3.

When the Communists on the union's Executive Committee were forced out of office by legal action initiated by Mr. Bryne and new elections were ordered, the Group's executive committee issued a statement on the necessity for all Electrical Trades Union members to see that they recorded their votes.²³ Reflecting the general distrust of politicians by the industrial side of the labor movement and the Communist sympathies of many of the leaders of the Electrical Trades Union, the union's Executive Committee told the Group to mind its own business.

THE TRADE UNION GROUP AND PARLIAMENT

By and large, the attempts by the Group to act as the collective political agent of the trade unions is not too successful. The unions are far more concerned with their consultative status with the various departments of Government.²⁴ Even the Trades Union Congress has made it clear that it prefers to deal directly with the Government of the day rather than with the union sponsored Members of Parliament. As a result, communication between the Group and Congress or the individual unions is far from effective. In particular, the poor quality of the links between the Group and the Trades Union Congress have led to complaints from some of the union sponsored Members of Parliament

²³Ibid. , p. 3.

²⁴V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans Green, 1960), pp. 304, 310.

with regard to the direct consultation between Congress and the Ministry of Labor.²⁵

The only institutional linkage between the Group and the Trades Union Congress is the custom of having the Assistant Secretary of the Congress attend meetings of the Group.²⁶ Such ties between the Group and Congress, however, seem to have declined in more recent years as part of the general loosening of ties between the industrial and political wings of the Labor movement.

The importance of the Groups has somewhat declined in recent years. As a private organization of union sponsored Labor politicians, it has come increasingly to be something of a social club held together by nostalgia for a shared common experience²⁷ or as a protective shell aimed at protecting the trade unionists in an otherwise foreign environment.²⁸ As a group becomes increasingly heterogeneous, as it did

²⁵The Daily Telegraph (London) (March 23, 1964). Cf. J. D. Stewart, British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 23; Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan: A Biography (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962), p. 413.

²⁶B. Hennessy, "Trade Unions and the British Labor Party," The American Political Science Review, 1L (1955), pp. 1063-1064. Cf. Eric Wigham, What's Wrong With the Unions? (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961), pp. 57-70. It has been suggested that the links between the Congress and the Group may have more to do with the internal politics of the Trades Union Congress than with any desire to insure that the two keep in close contact with each other.

²⁷Interview with Richard Marsh, M.P., July 6, 1964.

²⁸J. P. W. Mallalieu, "The Trade Union MP," The New Statesman (November 28, 1959), p. 734.

between 1959 and 1964, with an influx of men sponsored by the white collar union or trade union bureaucrats and technicians, we might expect the importance of the group as the corporate agent of the unions to decline even further. This would not, of course, affect the Group's functioning as a specialist group within the Parliamentary Party.

The Miners and their Rota. --The Trade Union Group is not the only organization of sponsored Members in the House of Commons. Most of the unions with more than two or three sponsored Members have organized their parliamentary representatives into distinct groups. The main function of such organizations is to facilitate communications between the Members and union headquarters. The only one of these groups to have major significance within the Palace of Westminster is the Miners' Group composed of Members sponsored by the miners' union. The Miners' Group maintains a continual contact between the group and the National Union of Mineworkers headquarters. The officers of the group submit an annual report of their activities to the national conference of the miners' union. But, unlike all the other union groups, the mining union sponsored Members also make an effort to regulate their activity on the floor of the House through group action.

They do this through the use of an informal rota of members chosen by the group beforehand to make the first attempts to participate in debates affecting the coal industry. On a rotating basis, two or three of the Members sponsored by the miners' union are chosen to participate and other members of the miners' group will not try to

take part in the debate until these speakers have done so.²⁹ The rota system is not designed to insure that the best speakers always have the first opportunity to express their views. Rather, the system is used to insure that over a period of time all members of the group will have an opportunity to take part in mining debates. The only attempt made to insure that the views expressed are relevant and useful to the debate is a system of briefing of the selected speakers by the officers of the mineworkers' union. The speakers are then enabled, if they so desire, to use the material supplied by the union in the debate.

How effective is the rota system? One prominent Member sponsored by the miners' union feels that it is a very poor technique, preventing the miners from making maximum use of their best speakers.³⁰ On the other hand, most of the group's Members seem to feel that it introduces a desirable aspect of egalitarianism into the group. The rota does seem to have the effect of insuring the participation of most of the mining sponsored Members in coal debates over a period of time. In the first four sessions of the 1959-1964 Parliament, for example, there were six more or less general debates affecting the coal industry.³¹ Ten of the 32 Members sponsored by the miners' union

²⁹This discussion is based on interviews with a number of the Members of Parliament sponsored by the National Union of Mineworkers in the summer of 1964.

³⁰The Member who supplied this information asked to remain anonymous to preserve the domestic tranquillity of the miners' group.

³¹The debates directly affecting the mining industry are: Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (hereafter referred to as

failed to speak in these debates. Of the remaining 22, only one of the Members without primary or secondary front bench responsibility, spoke more than twice, and 14 spoke only once. Analysis of the position of the ten who did not speak reveals that two of them died early in the period, and that two others had primary or secondary front bench responsibilities for Ministries other than fuel and power. On the whole, it would seem that the rota is fairly effective in equalizing the participation of the mining sponsored Members in debates affecting coal industry.

We will return to activity on the floor of the House in a few pages, but we turn now to an examination of the place of the sponsored Members in the leadership of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY

The 93 union sponsored Members elected to the House of Commons in October, 1959, constituted over one-third of the Parliamentary Labor Party.³² By elections, the adoption of sitting Members by various

Parliamentary Debates) (1959-1960), Vol. 614, cols. 44 ff; Ibid., Vol. 616, cols. 176 ff; Ibid. (1960-1961), vol. 635, cols. 36 ff; Ibid., Vol. 646, col. 758 ff; Ibid. (1961-1962), Vol. 650, cols. 449 ff; Ibid., (1962-1963), Vol. 667, cols. 1020 ff. For a further discussion of the miners specialization, Below, pp. 251-258.

³²See Appendix VI for a list of trade union sponsored Members of Parliament elected in October, 1959.

unions and deaths during the Parliament made a net gain of ten to the Group's membership as it rose to 103 by 1964. Numbers alone would seem to warrant a place for some sponsored Members in the Party leadership. If the Trade Union Group is not able to exercise a dominant role in the affairs of the Party, individual trade unionists do fill prominent posts, and it is to these individuals that we now turn our attention.

Leadership of the Labor Party as a whole has, in recent years, come to be focused more and more in the Parliamentary Labor Party.³³ Within the Parliamentary Party, it has come to be centered in the Leader and Chairman.³⁴ The Leader of the Parliamentary Party is assisted by a Deputy leader, the Parliamentary Committee, and an appointed Shadow Cabinet. Leadership outside the Palace of Westminster is exercised by the National Executive Committee of the Party of which the Parliamentary Leader and Deputy Leader are ex-officio members, and which usually includes a number of other Members of Parliament. What is the role of the trade unionists in these leadership positions?

The Leader and Deputy Leader

The single most important position in the Parliamentary Party is that of the Leader and Chairman, elected annually by his fellow

³³W. L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963), p. 225.

³⁴The major exponent of this view of Labor Party Leadership is R. T. McKenzie, British Political Parties (Second Edition; New York: Praeger, 1963), pp. 297-385.

Labor parliamentarians when the Party is in opposition. With the Labor Party in opposition during the 1959-1964 Parliament, the Leader of the Parliamentary Party was the paid Leader of the Loyal Opposition and the potential Prime Minister should Labor win (as it did) in the next General Election. When he becomes Prime Minister, the Leader of the Parliamentary Party has almost 100 Government positions to distribute among his followers.

The post of Leader and Chairman has not been filled by a trade union sponsored Member since the early 1920's when J. R. Clynes held the position for a brief period prior to the 1922 General Election. During the 1959-1964 Parliament, the position was filled initially by Hugh Gaitskell and, following Gaitskell's death in early 1963, by Harold Wilson. Neither was a trade union sponsored Member although, when serving as Leader, each received special financial assistance toward his electoral expenses from the National Union of General and Municipal Workers.³⁵

While the top post was filled by a non-trade union sponsored Member, the second position, that of Deputy Leader, went to a trade union representative. During the 1959-1960 session, the post was

³⁵ Gaitskell was on the union's supplementary parliamentary panel and Wilson was a member of the union. Interview with H. R. Roberts, Political Officer, National Union of General and Municipal Workers, August 27, 1964.

An institutional device for insuring that the Leader is not insulated from the trade union point of view is found in the customary practice of having a sponsored Member serve as one of the Leader's Parliamentary Private Secretaries who help to keep the Leader informed about what is going on within the Parliamentary Party.

held by Aneurin Bevan. Following Bevan's death in 1960, George Brown was elected to the position and continued to occupy it until the creation of the Labor Government following the 1964 General Election. Like the position of Leader, the Deputy Leader is subject to annual election by the Parliamentary Party, but his place within the Party is ambiguous. He acts for the Leader when the holder of the top position is incapacitated and is an ex-officio member of the National Executive and Parliamentary Committees, but has no other clear-cut duties. Even the obvious role of heir apparent is not guaranteed as evidenced by George Brown's failure to become Leader in 1963.

Bevan's election as Deputy Leader in the fall of 1959 marked his final reconciliation with the Party leadership and with Hugh Gaitskell in particular. While his stature within the Party made him an obvious candidate for the position of Leader if it fell vacant, he was denied any chance at the top post by his tragic death in 1960. Bevan, a South Wales miner, was succeeded by George Brown of the Transport and General Workers Union. Brown was another obvious product of the trade union movement, and his lack of formal education, his emotionalism, and his habit of treating all of his associates as if they were fellow members of the working class earned for him considerable criticism and ridicule from some middle class members of the Party.³⁶ Despite this, his

³⁶This view is far from universal, of course. John Strachey has been quoted as referring to Brown as an intellectual. Nora Beloff, "Blunder, Brilliance and Bounce," The Observer (London) (May 16, 1965), p. 11.

very considerable ability almost carried Brown to the top and secured him a firm position as Deputy Leader under both Gaitskell and Wilson.

The Parliamentary Committee

The Parliamentary Committee of the Parliamentary Labor Party (not to be confused with Parliamentary Committees of the Trades Union Congress which existed from 1869 until 1921) is composed of 18 members. There are three representatives from the Labor members of the House of Lords, the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party, the Chief Whip, and twelve other elected representatives of the Parliamentary Party. It is the twelve elected members of the Committee to which we now turn our attention. In Table 16 we have identified the trade union sponsored Members who belonged to the Committee between 1959 and 1964.

Of the twelve elected parliamentarians on the Parliamentary Committee, trade union representatives never had more than three or four seats in any session. In effect, this meant that they were numerically under-represented in relation to their numbers in the Parliamentary Party as a whole. This was only partially compensated for by the fact that the Deputy Leader was also a sponsored Member. Despite this quantitative under-representation, there seemed little evidence that the union sponsored Members felt any particular discontent. The five trade union representatives who sat on the Committee were all men of unquestioned ability and there is no evidence that they ever

TABLE 16

TRADE UNIONISTS ON THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,
1959-1964^a

1959-1960	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964
Brown, G. ^b	Gunter, R.	-	-	-
Fraser, T.	- ^d	-	-	-
Lee, F.	-	-	-	-
Robens, A. ^c			

^aF. T. Willey was also a member of the Committee for all five sessions. Sometime during this period he was adopted by the Association of Supervisory Staff Executives and Technicians as a sponsored Member. It was not possible to determine precisely when he was adopted. Because of this, he has not been included in the discussion which follows.

^bElected Deputy Leader in 1960-1961 and following years.

^cResigned from Parliament in 1960 to become head of the National Coal Board. Robens was not succeeded by another trade unionist.

^d"-" indicates no change.

Sources:

Labour Party Conference, Reports (1960-1964).

tended to act as a cohesive trade union bloc in its deliberations. Evidence against such bloc action, is suggested by the fact that Lee was well known within the Party as a supporter of Harold Wilson, while Gunter, Fraser, and Brown were all thought to be more conservative. In the defence dispute, all three supported Gaitskell, but in the leadership struggle, Brown found that he did not have the support of Tom Fraser among others.

The Shadow Cabinet

Election to the Parliamentary Committee is one sign of a Member's stature within the Party. A supplement to this, in use since 1955, is the Leader's practice of appointing certain members of the Parliamentary Party to "shadow" specified government departments. This Shadow Cabinet includes both the Parliamentary Committee and other Members needed to provide coverage for most Ministries. The members of the Shadow Cabinet provide leadership for the Parliamentary Labor Party in debates on the floor of the House, and might be expected to fill top level posts in any government that Labor might create.³⁷

Given the authority to make these appointments, the Leader has some flexibility to decide who will cover what Department. It is politics, of course, to assign all members of the Parliamentary Committee to major departments, but this still leaves considerable room to maneuver. Additional flexibility is introduced by the practice of naming assistant Shadow Ministers among the younger members of the Party so that they might gain valuable experience in speaking from the Front Bench, and they might become more familiar with the machinery of government. Since there are not enough elected members of the Parliamentary Committee to cover all Government departments, the Leader appoints other shadow Ministers from those

³⁷See R. M. Punnet, "The Labour Shadow Cabinet, 1955-1964," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1964-1965), pp. 61-70.

Members of the Party with Parliamentary ability or political importance who did not become part of the Parliamentary Committee.

Judicious use of this appointive power can go a long way to heal splits in the Party and to integrate potential rebels into the power structure of the Parliamentary Party. An obvious example of this was Aneurin Bevan's assignment to shadow the Foreign Office in 1959-1960. Had he lived and had he joined forces with the unilateral elements in the party, his Front Bench responsibilities would have been something of a limitation on his freedom of action. His death in mid-1960 meant that he never had to make the choice between Front Bench responsibility and rebellion in the defence dispute.

In the 25 to 28 primary Shadow Cabinet positions, sponsored Members had responsibilities for between eight and eleven departments with the number increasing as the Parliament grew older. On a strict numerical basis, they were at least as well represented in the Shadow Cabinet as they were in the Parliamentary Party as a whole. What they lacked in terms of numerical representation in the Parliamentary Committee was thus compensated for in the Shadow Cabinet. The trade union sponsored Members were given particular responsibility for shadowing Ministries which worked closely with industry. For example, Fred Lee at Aviation; Lee, Ray Gunter, and Tom Fraser at Fuel and Power; and Lee, Gunter, and A. Robens at Labor. The only ministries of obvious concern to the unions not being shadowed by a sponsored Member was Transport. Trade unionists also occupied several

TABLE 17

TRADE UNIONISTS WITH SHADOW CABINET

SELECTED DEPARTMENTS	Session		
	1959-1960	1960-1961	1961 ^a
Agriculture	-	-	F. E.
Aviation	-	-	F. I.
Colonies and Commonwealth	-	-	-
Defence	G. Brown	- ^d	-
Admiralty	T. Steele ^c	-	-
Air	-	F. Mulley ^c	-
Education	A. Greenwood ^b	F. Willey ^{b, c}	-
Foreign Office	A. Bevan	-	-
Fuel & Power	F. Lee	R. Gunter	T. E.
Home Office	-	-	G. E.
Labor	A. Robens	F. Lee	R. C.
Post Office	N. Edwards ^c	W. R. Williams ^c	-
Public Bldg.	-	-	-
Wales	J. Griffiths ^c	-	-
Science	-	F. Peart ^{b, c}	-
NUMBER OF POSITIONS IN SHADOW CABINET	26	26	2
NUMBER OF TRADE UNIONISTS IN THE SHADOW CABINET	8	8	1

Source: Adopted with modifications from: R. M. Punnett, "The Labour Shadow Cabinet" (Winter, 1964-65), p. 64.

^aThe appointments made in 1963 were made by Harold Wilson following the election of the Labour Government.

^bThe men identified by b were not sponsored by a union at the time of their appointment. In the case of F. Peart and F. Willey, it was not possible to discover exactly when they were appointed. In the case of A. Greenwood, it was not possible to discover exactly when he was appointed. The table tends, therefore, to exaggerate the representation of the trade unionists in the Shadow Cabinet.

^cThe men identified by c were not members of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

^d"-" indicates that there was no change from the previous year.

TABLE

SHADOW CABINET RESPONSIBILITY, 1959-1964

Session			
1959-1962	1962-1963	1963 ^a	1963-1964
Peart ^{b, c}	-	-	-
Lee	-	-	-
.	-	A. Bottomley ^c	-
.	-	-	-
.	-	-	-
.	-	-	-
.	-	-	-
Fraser	-	-	-
Brown	-	-	-
Gunter	-	-	-
.	-	-	-
.	-	C. Pannell ^c	-
.	-	-	-
.	-	-	-
25	26	28	28
9	9	11	11

Shadow Cabinet, 1955-64," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 1

Following his election as Leader.

of their initial entry into the 1959-1964 Parliament. In the they became union-sponsored Members of Parliament. Anthony until 1962. The inclusion of these three individuals in the above in the early sessions.

Committee.

secondary Shadow Cabinet positions affecting the industrial departments with H. Finch and W. Blyton assisting at Fuel and Power, R. Prentice at Labour, Roy Mason at the Postoffice, and R. Mellish at Transport.

Before reaching the conclusion in that the sponsored Members were only concerned with industrial questions, it should be noted that a number of them held positions which were far removed from this area. Aneurin Bevan at the Foreign Office, George Brown at Defence and the Home Office. James Griffiths shadowing Wales, and A. Bottomley charged with watching Colonies and Commonwealth affairs are signs that the sponsored Members were not completely insular in their outlook. Another example is Fred Mulley, sponsored by the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, an author about strategic problems whose responsibilities for Air was recognition of his ability in this area.³⁸

There were few complaints about the ability of the trade union sponsored Members in the Shadow Cabinet and their effectiveness in Parliamentary Debate. Perhaps the only exception to this generalization was Fred Lee who came in for occasional criticism, but it would have been difficult to demote him in light of his membership in the Parliamentary Committee (and, after Harold Wilson became the Leader in

³⁸For example, see F. Mulley, "NATO's Nuclear Problems: Control in Consultation," Orbis, VIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1964), pp. 21-35; The Politics of Western Defense (New York: Praeger, 1962).

1963, in light of his long time support for Wilson.) There were no serious complaints about the ability of any of the other trade union representatives on the Opposition Front Bench between 1959 and 1964, and they all became Ministers in the Government formed by Harold Wilson after the 1964 General Election if they were still in the House of Commons.³⁹

The Whips

The Parliamentary Committee and the Shadow Cabinet play a prominent part in the public life of Parliament and in the Labor Party. They are the stars of the drama of Parliament, but behind them and making it possible for them to go on are many other individuals. The most important of these are the Whips who are charged with holding the Parliamentary Party together. The Whips function as a channel of communication between the Front- and Backbenchers and seek to insure that there are sufficient members of the Party on hand for any possible emergency such as a snap division or a quorum call. In addition, the

³⁹In fact, only Fred Willey, whose sponsored status is a matter of debate, failed to become a member of the Cabinet. Punnett, p. 69. The major criticism directed at the trade unionists came in 1957 from one of the Party's intellectuals, Mr. Richard Crossman. Crossman charged that only four of the sponsored Members were qualified for high office if and when Labor would once again form a Government. Daily Mirror (London) (July 5, 1957). Harrison suggests that there were few who quarreled with Crossman's statement (Harrison, p. 269), but there was at least one major dissenting voice. Mr. H. B. Boyne, the political correspondent for the Daily Telegraph took issue with Crossman and pointed out that there were perhaps 25 sponsored Members qualified for high office. Some of them, such as Austin Albu, were "quite the equal of any 'clever Dick.'" See H. B. Boyne, "That Ticket to Westminster," Daily Telegraph (London) (July 18, 1957).

Whips are the "usual channels" through which agreement between the two parties on procedural questions is generally arranged.

With the Labor Party in Opposition, the Chief Whip is one of the three officers elected by annual vote of the entire Parliamentary Party. He is assisted in his duties by an appointed Deputy Chief Whip and ten Assistant Whips who are each charged with the responsibility of keeping track of a group of Labor parliamentarians and seeing to it that any potential discontent among them is made known to the Party Leaders. The Whips speak but seldom on the floor of the House and try to remain neutral between opposing factions within the Party. The trade unionists who served as Whips during the 1959-1964 Parliament included:

C. Howell and G. H. R. Rogers for all five sessions; Jack McCann starting with the 1960-1961 session; and C. F. Grey starting with the 1961-1962 session. Among the eleven appointed Whips, trade union representatives rose from two to four, but both the Chief Whip and his appointed Deputy were non-trade unionists.⁴⁰ There was no overt

evidence to support Beatrice Webb's charge of many years ago that the Whips' Office was used to placate incompetent trade unionists.⁴¹

⁴⁰ That is to say that they are not officially sponsored by a trade union. In point of fact, H. Bowden, M. P., the Chief Opposition Whip, is a member of the Union on Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. The Deputy Chief Whip, Edward Short, M. P. was a member of the National Union of Teachers. Both men, but especially Bowden, illustrate the difficulty of determining who is and who is not a trade unionist in the House of Commons.

⁴¹ Margaret I. Cole (ed.), Beatrice Webb's Dairies, 1924-1932 (London: Longmans, Green, 1956), p. 13. Entry for March 15, 1924.

If the Whips as a group are judged on their ability to insure complete compliance with Party decisions, the Whips of the 1959-1964 Parliament must be given a low rating in view of the repeated failure of the Party to show a united front on the defence question in the early sessions of the Parliament. In view of the seriousness of the defence dispute and the unwillingness of the parliamentary leadership to make any significant concessions to their opponents regarding it, this is probably too strict a test. If the defence dispute is excluded from consideration, there seems little ground for complaint about the effectiveness of the Whips in holding the party together. And the credit belonging to the Whips collectively must be shared by the individual trade unionists among them. A mixed tribute to the effectiveness of these trade unionists is to be seen in the continuation in the Whips' Office of the three who were re-elected in the 1964 General Election.⁴² With the Labor majority in the new Parliament a very small one, the Party could hardly afford to keep Whips who were not doing their jobs.

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOR PARTY

Despite the growing importance of the parliamentary leadership in recent decades, formal leadership of the Party as a whole is still

⁴²Charles Howell was defeated by 327 votes in the 1964 General Election.

located in the National Executive Committee, and the personnel of the Committee are perhaps the only serious threat to the position of the parliamentary leaders within the Party. The National Executive Committee is composed of 28 members. The Leader and Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party are ex-officio members of it. The remaining 26 members are chosen to represent the various elements within the Party. The entire Party conference elects the Treasurer and five women to the Committee. The Socialist, co-operative and professional societies' delegates to the Party conference elect one representative. The constituency parties' delegates elect seven members of the committee and the trade unions' delegates name the remaining twelve.⁴³

These twelve union representatives are usually chosen without much of a contest within the unions, and they usually include representatives of the larger unions.⁴⁴ The trade union nominees for the Committees are usually taken from among the second or even third ranking union leaders.⁴⁵ This is caused in part by the desire of the union General Secretaries to serve on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the prohibition in the Labor Party constitution against dual membership in the Council and the National Executive Committee.⁴⁶

⁴³ McKenzie, p. 517. Labour Party, Constitution and Standing Orders, Standing Order No. 4.

⁴⁴ Martin Harrison, The Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), p. 308.

⁴⁵ McKenzie, p. 519; Harrison, p. 310.

⁴⁶ Labour Party, Constitution and Standing Orders, Standing Order No. 4. This is taken for granted by Martin Harrison when he writes

The trade unions are in a position to dominate the election of eighteen of the Committee's 28 members since they have twelve seats allotted to the unions to start with and their bloc votes at the conference could determine the elections to the women's section and the Party treasurer. In fact, this trade union domination has been in little evidence (and even between 1919 and 1937 when the entire Committee was elected by the Party conference dominated by the unions, this failed to happen).⁴⁷

The twelve trade union representatives on the National Executive Committee are frequently the only Committee members without parliamentary experience. But even here, a few legislators are to be found. The trade unionists who sit on the Committee usually are content to allow the parliamentarians to take a more prominent role in its activity. The two leading authorities on the functioning of the Committees are in agreement that there is no evidence of any sort of concerted bloc action by the trade union representatives on it.⁴⁸ Perhaps their presence is of major importance as a reminder to the rest of the Party of the continuing importance of trade union support for the Party's success. The trade unionists are usually content to

of Frank Cousin's inheritance of a seat on the Trades Union Congress General Council and his departure from the National Executive Committee, Harrison, p. 310.

⁴⁷McKenzie, pp. 517-519.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 519-520. Harrison, p. 322.

support the parliamentary leadership which tends to dominate the Committee.⁴⁹ Thus, they usually contribute to preventing any split between the Parliamentary Party and the remainder of the Party.

In the following table we have shown the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament who simultaneously served on the National Executive Committee of the Party in its trade union section between 1959 and 1964.

TABLE 18^a

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT
SERVING ON THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
1959-1964

1959-1960	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964
E. G. Gooch	^b	A. V. Hilton	-	-
R. Gunter	-	-	-	-
W. Padley	-	-	-	-
.....	F. Mulley	-	-	-
.....	E. Thornton

^aIn addition to the trade unionists listed above, Anthony Greenwood who was adopted by the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1962 as a sponsored Member of Parliament served on the Committee throughout the period. The only other trade union sponsored Member of Parliament to serve on the Committee between 1959 and 1964 except as Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party was Aneurin Bevan. Bevan was the Treasurer of the Party in 1959-60 along with being Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party. Like Anthony Greenwood, Bevan was not nominated for the position by his union, but by his Constituency Party.

^b"-" no change

Source

Labor Party Conference, Reports (1959-1963).

⁴⁹For example, see Gerald Kaufman, "Labour in Brighton," New Statesman (December 11, 1964), p. 910.

The traditional distrust of the political wing of the Labor movement by the industrial movement showed itself in the reported refusal of the unions to re-elect E. Thornton of the United Textile Factory Workers Association to the Committee in 1963 because he was a Member of Parliament. With the exception of F. Mulley, all of the individuals named in the above table held major positions in their unions and this was the reason for their election to the Committee.⁵⁰

Trade Unionists and Party Leadership: An Over-all Impression

The contribution of the trade unionists to the leadership of the Labor Party between 1959 and 1964 involves something more than the simple listing of names and positions they held.⁵¹ Individual personalities play a tremendous role in determining those who will and will not be able to exert influence. The major sponsored Member at the start of the Parliament was obviously Aneurin Bevan and his reconciliation with the rest of the Party leadership made him a real force to be reckoned with inside the Party regardless of his formal position. His influence did not derive from his position as Deputy Leader. Rather, the position was merely the formal recognition of his importance within the Party,

⁵⁰The trade union officials who serve on the National Executive Committee are reported to be frequently over-awed by the parliamentarians. McKenzie, p. 423.

⁵¹There is, for example, the importance of keeping at least one prominent trade unionist on display as a symbol of the working class interests that support the Party. See "Exit Mr. Robens," The Economist (June 18, 1960), p. 1188. Cf. Hugh Dalton, Memoirs (Three volumes; London: Muller, 1953), Vol. I, p. 195; Ibid., Vol. III, p. 361.

and it was also a final symbol of his rapprochement with Hugh Gaitskell.

Bevan's death in 1960 left two voids. The left wing of the Party lost what for many years had been a major voice in Party councils, and there was no immediate replacement. Intellectuals such as Harold Wilson or Anthony Greenwood came from a completely different environment and could hardly hope to match the moral passion of Bevan. On the other hand, the sponsored Members lost a major voice also. However much Bevan may have fought with the conservative trade union leaders outside of the House of Commons, he was still a product of the working class environment and could share many of its prejudices. With Bevan gone, the trade union representatives were unable to find a single figure who could speak with the same authority. None of the leading sponsored Members such as G. Brown, William Blyton, Ray Gunter, or Tom Fraser could hope to fill the shoes left vacant by Bevan. Gunter had perhaps the best potential, but he had to overcome an extended absence from Parliament between 1951 and 1959 and the fact that his union background was of an essentially white collar nature. The more traditional elements in the Labor movement could still be skeptical of someone who had not put in his time in the mine or on the factory floor.⁵²

While there was no immediate successor to Bevan, the trade union point of view was not deleted from Party councils of course. Men

⁵²For example, see John M. Boyd, "Ray Gunter's Errors," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXXI, No. 5 (May, 1964), p. 158.

such as Robens, Brown, Blyton, Gunter, and Fraser had the ability to stand with anyone in the party. The selection of Roben to become head of the National Coal Board in 1961 suggested that their ability did not go unrecognized on the other side of the House. Behind these men were other trade union sponsored Members who were just starting their parliamentary careers. Men such as Richard Marsh, Reginald Prentice, or Roy Mason all showed considerable promise for the future.

Age and Leadership

It may be of some significance that almost all of these trade union sponsored Members had entered the House of Commons before they were forty. Their decision to embark on a political career at this early age suggests that they were not doing so because they viewed it as a consolation prize after failure within the union, but because they saw a political career as the best avenue of securing their desired goals. In Table 19 we have shown the trade unionists elected or re-elected to the House of Commons in October, 1959, and who had entered the House prior to their fortieth birthday. In addition, we have shown some of the offices they have held in Labor Governments and in the Party Leadership. Included in this list are two Deputy Leaders of the Labor Party, six Cabinet Ministers in the 1964-1966 Government, four members of the Parliamentary Committee (1959-1964), one appointed member of the Shadow Cabinet (1959-1964), and three members of the

TABLE 19

TRADE UNIONS SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ELECTED IN
OCTOBER, 1959, WHO FIRST ENTERED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
PRIOR TO THEIR FORTIETH BIRTHDAY

Member	Union	Age at Entry	Year of Entry	Selected Offices Held
Bevan, A. (died in 1960)	N. U. M.	32	1929	Minister of Health; Deputy Leader, Labor Party; Party Treasurer
Fraser, T.	N. U. M.	32	1943	Under Secretary of State for Scotland; Parliamentary Committee, Minister of Trans- port; Minister of State Board of Trade
Mason, R.	N. U. M.	29	1954	Minister of State, Board of Trade
Brown, G.	T. G. W. U.	32	1945	Minister of Works; Deputy Leader, Labor Party; First Secretary of State and Minister of Economic Affairs
Mellish, R.	T. G. W. U.	33	1946	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Local Government
Oliver, G. (retired in 1964)	T. G. W. U.	38	1926	Under Secretary of State for the Home Office
Prentice, R.	T. G. W. U.	34	1957	Minister of State for Education and Science

Oliver, G. (retired in 1964)	T. G. W. U.	38	1926	Government Under Secretary of State for the Home Office
Prentice, R.	T. G. W. U.	34	1957	Minister of State for Education and Science
Lee, F.	A. E. U.	39	1945	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labor; Parliamentary Committee; Minister of Power
Boardman, H.	U. S. D. A. W.	38	1945	-----
Fernyhough, E.	U. S. D. A. W.	39	1947	-----
Padley, W.	U. S. D. A. W.	34	1950	National Executive Committee; Minister of State, Foreign Affair
Robens, A. (resigned from Parliament, 1960)	U. S. D. A. W.	35	1945	Minister of Labor; Parliamentary Committee; Chairman, National Coal Chairman
Gunter, R.	T. S. S. A.	36	1945	Parliamentary Committee; National Executive Committee; Minister of Labor
Rogers, G. H. R.	T. S. S. A.	39	1945	Assistant Whip
Mulley, F.	C. A. W. U.	32	1950	Shadow cabinet; National Executive Committee; Minister of State for Defence for Air
Smith, E.	U. P. A.	39	1935	Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade

Party National Executive Committee (1959-1964). One of these men became head of the National Coal Board in 1960 as Lord Robens of Woldingham.

While it would be obviously going too far to say that these men achieved their positions of power and influence in the Parliamentary Party simply because of their early age of entry, it would be fair to say that their early age of entry provided them with an opportunity to demonstrate their ability (and of course, their early entrance into Parliament may have been the result of ability which they had already demonstrated).

In our following chapter, we will have occasion to comment further on the age differential of the sponsored Members within the House of Commons. The presence of the influential and potentially influential trade union representatives in the Parliamentary Labor Party is a sign that the trade union point of view will not lack proponents for years to come.⁵³

Despite this, it would seem on balance that the sponsored Members did not exert as much direct influence in Party councils as they might have. They seldom held the very top positions and were more often to be found in the role of chief deputy or assistant to the top man.

⁵³This should not lead us to forget the change that is occurring in the nature of the trade union representation. Increasingly, the newer trade unionists are coming from a professional, white collar background rather than off the shop floor or out of the mine. This is even true in the industrial unions. Above, Chapter II, pp. 100-107.

An attempt to suggest some of the reasons why they did not achieve greater prominence will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1959-1964

The place of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament in the Parliamentary Labor Party is but part of their overall place in the British legislative process. Their activity is not restricted to the Parliamentary Labor Party and they play an important role in the larger parliamentary scene. By looking at the participation of the trade unionists in general parliamentary activity we gain greater understanding of the position they hold in the Parliamentary Party, in the Labor Party, and in the British political system as a whole.

To understand this broader role of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament, we turn in the following pages to an analysis of the nature of their contribution to the general legislative process. We start with a qualitative treatment of their legislative participation with emphasis on the substantive content or what they say and do in the House of Commons. Then in the second part of the chapter

we turn to a brief examination of quantitative measures of their participation in the life of the House of Commons and how it relates to certain social and political characteristics of the trade union sponsored Members.

LEGISLATIVE SPECIALIZATION

One of the first places to look for an explanation of the failure of the trade union sponsored Members to reach the top in the Parliamentary Party is on the floor of the House of Commons. The position of the sponsored Members in the Shadow Cabinet provides the first clue to the nature of their participation in the proceedings of the House. As we have already suggested, they tend to concentrate their attention on government departments dealing with industrial affairs.¹ It would seem reasonable then to expect them to tend to ignore those areas of government most removed from the industrial sphere. Defence policy and foreign affairs suggest themselves as the most likely areas to be neglected by the trade union representatives.

Foreign Policy and Defence

If we look at debates in Parliament, the lack of union sponsored Members' participation in general debates on defence policy becomes immediately apparent. An example of this is to be seen in the Opposition censure motion in December, 1960, which attacked the Government for not going far enough to encourage multilateral disarmament.

¹ Above, pp. 220-224.

Despite the very bitter split in the Parliamentary Labor Party which showed itself in Division 22 of December 13, 1960, which concluded this debate, only one sponsored Member, George Brown, the Shadow Minister of Defence, took part in the debate.² The reader will remember that Division 22 marked the high point of the unilateralist revolt within the Parliamentary Party. A similar lack of activity by the trade union representatives in defence debates showed itself in 1963. Among the 13 Labor spokesmen to take part in the debate on the Government's Statement on Nuclear Defence Systems, Brown and J. B. Hynd were the only union sponsored Members to speak.³

Debate, of course, is but one aspect of parliamentary activity. Perhaps the second most important variety of formal legislative activity in the House of Commons is the Question Hour. If we analyze the questions asked by union sponsored Members in terms of the government department to which they were addressed, the lack of participation by trade union sponsored Members in the area of defence and military policy is less obvious. This is shown in Table 20.

²Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (Hereafter referred to as Parliamentary Debates) (1960-1961). Vol. 632, cols. 219-354 (December 13, 1960).

³Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 670, cols. 975ff, 1915 ff. (January 30, 1963). J. B. Hynd had been a Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the 1945-1950 Labor Government with special responsibility for occupied Germany. The only other trade unionist to be active in defence debates was Fred Mulley, Shadow Minister for Air from 1960 forward.

TABLE 20
MILITARY QUESTIONS BY GROUP, 1962-1963

MILITARY DEPARTMENTS	QUESTIONS DIRECTED AT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED WITH MILITARY AFFAIRS			
	By All Members of Parliament (N = 630)		By Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament (N = 87)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Admiralty	462	3.2%	31	1.5%
Air	188	1.3%	48	2.3%
Defence	256	1.8%	50	2.4%
War	361	2.5%	45	2.2%
Subtotal for Military Departments	1,267	8.8%*	174	8.4%*
All Other Departments	13,341	91.2%	1,910	91.6%
Total	14,608	100.0%	2,084	100.0%

Note: A complete breakdown of the number of questions directed at each of the thirty government departments will be found in Appendix VIII.

* Critical Ratio = .80

P 7.2780

Since this is the first of a series of similar tables, a few words of explanation are in order. Using the total number of Written and Oral Questions put down on the House of Commons Order Paper (agenda) for all government departments as the base, we determined the percentage of these questions which were directed to a particular department.⁴ For the four government departments mainly concerned with defence policy, we have shown the proportion of the questions directed to them by all Members of Parliament during the 1962-1963 session of the House of Commons. We followed a similar procedure to determine the proportion of questions directed by the trade union sponsored Members to these same four departments except that total number of questions asked by them of these departments and all other departments was determined by an actual count of the number of their Oral and Written Questions reported in Hansard. There is a possibility of some distortion here since the base figure for all Members of Parliament is taken from data supplied by the Office of the Clerk of the House of Commons while the base figure for the trade union sponsored Members is taken from an actual count of the questions appearing in Hansard. There is no reason to assume that this distortion is of a serious nature.

⁴D. N. Chester cautions against precisely the type of statistical analysis being used here because of the tendency to treat all questions as the same thing with the same significance. D. N. Chester and Nona Bowring, Questions in Parliament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 179.

Examination of the percentage columns in Table 20 suggests that the trade union representatives devote a very slightly smaller proportion of their questions to the departments concerned with military affairs than do all Members of Parliament. These results would be far more clear-cut save for the activity of one trade union sponsored Member, Roy Mason. During the course of the 1962-1963 session of Parliament, Mason was engaged in a campaign to uncover links between government departments and private industry in the shape of retired civil servants or military officers who had assumed positions in industry. The military departments were the subject of frequent Written Questions on the positions of retired officers. Mason contributed almost one-third of the Admiralty's questions, three-fifths of the questions directed to the Air Ministry, nine-tenths of those directed at the Defence Ministry, and half of those directed to the War Office. In addition, his questions included most other ministries.⁵

Mason's questions were not concerned with military affairs as such. Rather they reflected a concern for possible conflicts of interests on the part of the former government employees now working for private industry. Having assembled the data on retired civil

⁵ Parliamentary Debates (1962-1963), vol. 668, cols. 97-120 (November 30, 1962); Ibid., cols. 227-230 (December 6, 1962); Ibid., Vol. 669, cols. 15-19 (December 10, 1962); Ibid., cols. 142-148 (December 17, 1962) passim.

civil servants and military officers employed in private industry.

Mason then used this data as the basis for a series of Oral Questions directed to the Prime Minister regarding the nature of government regulations aimed at preventing any possible conflict of interest in this context.⁶ If we were to exclude Mason's unusual activity during this campaign, the trade union representatives would show a more marked lack of interest in military affairs.

A more clear-cut pattern emerges if we shift our attention to foreign affairs. As with defences, most of the trade union spokesmen do not take part in foreign affairs debates. When they do, they are apologetic and probably too willing to acknowledge their real or imagined limitations in the international sphere. The infrequency with which the trade union sponsored Members took part in foreign affairs debates was acknowledged in 1961 by Ellis Smith when he said:

It is many years since I took part in a foreign affair debate. I do so now because I am becoming increasingly uneasy at the trend of events in foreign affairs and at the relative agreement that exists in the House. I present those great industrial areas which, in the main, keep our exports going. I have taken part in two world wars. I have studied history. I know that thousands of the best of our sons, most of whom were as good as any of us are, lie in graves all over the world. I know how easy it could have been for some of us to have among them at 18 or 19 years of age, yet here we stand, having enjoyed life, with strength and power to use our intelligence and physique. Therefore, the time has arrived when working class representatives in the House should assert themselves and take part in debates of this character.⁷

⁶Ibid., Vol. 669, cols. 570-571 (December 13, 1962).

⁷Ibid., (1961-1962), Vol. 648, cols. 450 (November 2, 1960).

Despite Smith's demand for more working class participation, examination of the pages of Hansard shows little response on the part of his fellow trade union sponsored Members. What may have been a faint-hearted echo of Smith's plea came a year later.

Cyril Bence, speaking in defence of American action during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, began his speech by saying:

I ought to apologize to the House on this occasion because this is the first time in eleven years that I have had the audacity to address it on foreign affairs. I have never done so before because I have always found the subject very difficult.⁸

The only trade unionists to show any particular interest in foreign affairs debates were George Brown, Fred Mulley and J. B. Hynd, the three Members who had been prominent in defence debates.

A similar lack of interest in foreign affairs can be seen in the pattern of questions asked by the sponsored Members in 1962-1963. Unlike Table 20, the figures in the following table show a very definite difference between the proportion of Oral and Written Questions directed at the departments concerned with foreign policy by all Members of Parliament and by the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament. Taking the four departments concerned with foreign affairs separately or together, the result is the same. The trade union sponsored Members simply are not as interested in foreign affairs as are the other Members of Parliament. This is shown in Table 21.

⁸Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 666, col. 261 (October 31, 1962).

TABLE 21
FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUESTIONS BY GROUP, 1962-1963

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENTS	QUESTIONS DIRECTED AT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS			
	By all Members of of Parliament (N = 630)		By Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament (N = 87)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Colonies	504	3.5%	41	2.0%
Commonwealth	125	0.8%	2	0.1%
Lord Privy Seal (for the Foreign Office)	858	5.9%	48	2.3%
Technical Co-operation	121	0.8%	10	0.5%
Subtotal for Foreign Affairs Departments	1,608	11.0%*	101	4.9%*
All Other Departments	13,000	89.0%	1,983	95.1%
Total	14,608	100.0%	2,084	100.0%

*Critical Ratio = 12.2

P > .0001

Regardless of which type of activity we look at, debate or questions, the same general pattern emerges. The trade union sponsored Members devote a smaller proportion of their parliamentary participation to the subject of foreign policy.⁹

Industrial Affairs

All we have done thus far has been to show what the trade union representatives are not interested in. They devote a smaller proportion of their time to military policy and defence than do all Members of Parliament, and they are even less active when it comes to foreign affairs. Turning to the positive side, there are a priori grounds for expecting them to specialize in industrial matters. We have already pointed out their primary or secondary Shadow Cabinet role in the four chief industrial departments of Aviation, Labor, Fuel, and Power, and Transport.¹⁰ Not only did the union sponsored Members provide the front bench speakers for most of these departments, but they also provided the bulk of the backbench speakers in the debates

⁹Cf. Samuel Finer comments on the "Well known insularity of the Trade Union Members." See S. E. Finer, H. B. Berrington, and D. J. Bartholomew, Backbench Opinion in the House of Commons, 1955-1959 (New York: Pergamon Press, 1961), p. 35; Henry Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 29. Also see Mark M. Krug, Aneurin Bevan: Cautious Rebel (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), p. 45, for reference to Bevan's early tendency to ignore foreign affairs when he was first elected to the House of Commons.

¹⁰Above, pp. 220-224.

on these subjects. Starting with the Payment of Wages Bill during the 1959-1960 session and continuing to the Industrial Training Bill of 1963-1964, the specialization of the trade union sponsored Members in this area is obvious.¹¹

It was a trade union sponsored Member, Richard Marsh (National Union of Public Employees), who brought forth a Private Members Bill in the 1959-1960 session to give partial effect to the recommendations of the Gowers Committee on working conditions in offices.¹² The trade union sponsored Members provided the sharpest criticism of the "pay pause" of 1961-1962.¹³ And the same was true of the Government's Offices, Shops and Railway Premises Bill during the 1962-1963 session.¹⁴

¹¹Some of the debates which served as the basis of this discussion are: Parliamentary Debates (1960-1961), Vol. 636, cols. 1913 ff. (March 11, 1961); Ibid. (1961-1962), Vol. 652, cols. 720 ff. (January 29, 1962); Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 671, cols. 1503 ff. (February 14, 1963); Ibid. (1963-1964), Vol. 684, cols. 1001 ff. (November 20, 1963); Ibid., Vol. 687, cols. 961 ff. (January 21, 1964). Others are cited in the following notes.

This specialization of the trade union sponsored Members in industrial debates should not blind us to the fact that they may still ignore some topics such as labor disputes. See Peter G. Richards, Honourable Members (Second edition; Faber and Faber, 1964), p. 185.

¹²Parliamentary Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 615, cols. 907 ff. (November 11, 1959). It may be significant that of the 40 trade union sponsored Members who took part in the Division on the Second Reading of Marsh's Bill, there were only seven miners. An Offices Bill, of course, would not apply to the coal mines.

¹³Ibid. (1961-1962), Vol. 652, cols. 720 ff. (January 29, 1962).

¹⁴Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 667, cols. 588 ff. (November 15, 1962).

In all of these debates, the trade union sponsored Members made it quite clear that they had a special interest in this area. In the debate on the Payment of Wages Bill, for example, A. V. Hilton (National Union of Agricultural Workers) stated, "I represent agricultural workers, the lowest paid workers in the country. It is on their behalf that I would like to say a few words."¹⁵ Like most of the other trade union representatives, Hilton had grave reservations about the Government's proposal to allow workers to be paid by check. The white collar employees got special recognition in the same session in the form of Marsh's Offices Bill. Speaking in support of it, Fred Mulley (Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union) called attention to the particular interest of his union, which included many officer employees, in the proposal to implement the Gowers Report.¹⁶ Some of the younger white collar trade unionists who began to make their appearance in the House of Commons in the 1950's were particularly interested in Marsh's Bill and they strongly resisted the half-hearted Government opposition to it on the Second Reading.

The "pay pause" of 1961-1962 was another issue in which the trade union sponsored Members were especially interested. They opposed Selwyn-Lloyd's ban on increases in wages unless it was accompanied by an equally effective ban or limitation on profits. The attempt by the Government to enforce the "pause" led to considerable

¹⁵Ibid. (1959-1960), Vol. 620, col. 1367 (March 30, 1960).

¹⁶Ibid., Vol. 615, col. 907 (November 11, 1959).

hard feeling in the trade unions. This was particularly true among such groups as nurses and others in the public service. The attempt to enforce the "pause" in the nationalized industries led to a very bitter denunciation of the Government by Percy Collick (Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).¹⁷

The domination of Labor's share in industrial debates by trade union spokesmen was paralleled by a similar concentration of effort with regard to questions as shown in Table 22. This table is similar to Tables 20 and 21, but it uses a third set of departments. These four departments are the ones with the greatest identification with the industrial activity of the government. Note that in every case the trade union sponsored Members ask a higher proportion of Written and Oral Questions of these departments than do all Members of the House of Commons. The difference is most apparent in dealing with the Ministry of Labor. The differences involving the other three departments are much less, but they all tend to point in the same direction as the figures for the Ministry of Labor.¹⁸

The tendency of the trade union sponsored Members to focus their attention on the industrial sphere can also be seen in the part that they play in the activities of the Select Committees of the House

¹⁷Ibid. (1961-1962), Vol. 652, col. 788 (January 29, 1962).

¹⁸This specialization is not unique to the 1959-1964 Parliament. For example, see Finer, Berrington, and Bartholomew, p. 65; Philip Snowden, An Autobiography (Two Volumes; London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), Vol. II, pp. 530-531.

TABLE 22
INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS BY GROUP, 1962-1963

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS	QUESTIONS DIRECTED AT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED WITH INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS			
	By All Members of Parliament (N = 630)		By Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament (N=87)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Aviation	304	2.1%	59	2.8%
Labor	908	6.2%	257	12.3%
Power	292	2.0%	75	3.6%
Transport	1,263	8.6%	192	9.2%
Subtotal for Industrial Departments	2,767	18.9%*	583	27.9%*
All Other Departments	11,841	81.1%	1,501	72.1%
Total	14,608	100.0%	2,084	100.0%

*Critical Ratio = 15.00

P > .0001

of Commons. The major Select Committees are: the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee, the Committee on Statutory Instruments, the Committee on Privileges, and the Committee on Nationalized Industries. The only one of these Committees to attract many trade unionists is the Committee on Nationalized Industries.¹⁹

This Committee had been set up to enable the House of Commons to undertake somewhat closer supervision of the nationalized industries such as coal and transport. The Committee had been set up at the urging of the trade union representatives, and in the five years of the 1959-1964 Parliament a number of them played a major part in its activity. Austin Albu, William Blyton, E. A. Fitch, and Tom Steele were members of the Committee for all five sessions while Tom Fraser, Jeremy Bray, and E. Popplewell served on it for one or more sessions. Since the Committee normally has only 13 members, the importance of the sponsored Members in terms of membership is quite obvious. Through service on this Committee, the trade union sponsored Members were in a position to try to insure that the nationalized industries were administered in accord with the aims of those who had nationalized them.

¹⁹This discussion is based on the official records of the Select Committees. See Great Britain, House of Commons, Returns of Select Committees (1959-1964) (mimeographed). A brief discussion of the Committee is found in Richards, pp. 134-140.

While it is true that the trade union spokesmen as a group tend to concentrate their attention on industrial affairs, it is also true that there is further specialization among them. Given the structure of the British trade union movement, it is not always a simple matter to determine what industry a union's sponsored parliamentarians would be interested in. This is especially true of the large general unions, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. But there are two industries where this difficulty is not of significant importance. Both coal mining and the railroads are characterized by a high degree of congruence between the structure of the union or unions, the relevant government department and the industry itself. They thus provide convenient examples of further specialization within the over-all group of trade union sponsored Members of Parliament.²⁰

The Miners

The Members sponsored by the National Union of Mineworkers offer the clearest case of this specialization. They are the largest

²⁰Another example is that of W. R. Williams, sponsored by the Postoffice Workers, who served as Shadow Postmaster General between 1960 and his death in 1963. The type of industrial specialization that we are suggesting here is not exactly new or restricted to the miners or railwaymen. Discussing the pre-World War I period, George N. Barnes wrote: "Fred Richards could hold forth with great gusto on the technicalities of boat making and Alex. Wilkie was never better pleased than when dilating on the grievances of dockyard shipwrights." George N. Barnes, From Workshop to War Cabinet (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1929), p. 83.

group of legislators sponsored by one union, and their specialization is readily apparent in any debate affecting the Ministry of Fuel and Power, the National Coal Board, or any other aspect of the mining industry. The miners' sponsored Members' speeches tend to be the dominant ones on the Labor side of the House.²¹ Quantitatively, this can be seen by simply looking at the number of Members sponsored by the miners' union who take part in the debates on the almost annual Coal Industry Bills. The Bill brought forth by the Government in 1959-1960, for example, would have allowed the National Coal Board to borrow additional money to aid its attempts at modernization. On the Bill's Second Reading Debate, the mining Members supplied five of the seven Labor speakers.²² On the Committee Stage of the Bill, the miners' representatives only supplied three out of nine Labor speakers,²³ but they recovered on the Report Stage and again supplied five out of seven Labor spokesmen.²⁴

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the debate on this Bill was an attempt by Gerald Nabarro, a Conservative backbencher, to weaken it. He proposed an amendment which would have given the Coal Board less borrowing power than did the Government's proposal.

²¹Cf. above, pp. 245-246, for a discussion of the miners' rota used to regulate their participation in debate.

²²Parliamentary Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 614, cols. 44 ff. (November 23, 1959).

²³Ibid., Vol. 616, cols. 176 ff. (January 27, 1960).

²⁴Ibid., Vol. 617, cols. 1155 ff. (February 16, 1960).

When Nabarro's amendment was put to the vote, the bulk of the Labor Party abstained, but four trade union sponsored Members including two miners' representatives, T. J. Brown and R. Woof, chose to go into the Government's Division Lobby to help defeat the amendment.²⁵ In the Debate over another Coal Industry Bill in 1962-1963, Members sponsored by the miners' union provided all of the Labor speakers including Tom Fraser, the Shadow Minister of Power, and his assistant, Will Blyton.²⁶

The miners' representatives never make any secret of their union connections when participating in these debates. They frequently make explicit reference to their personal experience in the mines. For example, W. Stones began a speech in the Debate over the Coal Industry Bill of 1960 by saying, "I should, perhaps, declare my interest in speaking in this debate as a fully paid up member of the Mineworkers' Union."²⁷ Or in the debate over the estimates for the Ministry of Fuel and Power in 1961, Tom Swain, a left wing miner, could say, "We have experienced a black past in our industry, and, fortunately, the members of the N.U.M., of which I am a very proud one . . . are very much concerned about what is to happen unless the

²⁵Ibid., Vol. 616, cols. 267-268, Division 27 (January 27, 1960).

²⁶Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 667, cols. 1020 ff. (November 20, 1962).

²⁷Ibid. (1959-1960), Vol. 614, col. 78 (November 23, 1959).

Tory government gives us a co-ordinated fuel policy."²⁸ Or W. Blyton's statement, "I am a miner by profession, and a Member of Parliament by accident. For forty-one years I have been a member of the miners' union, and I am proud of it."²⁹ Likewise, the Party elder statesman, the Right Honourable James Griffiths, when speaking in the debate on the Coal Industry Bill of 1962, said: "I declare my interest in this matter. I am a member of the National Union of Mineworkers."³⁰ There seems little residue of the pre-war view that they did not have to make explicit their personal interest.³¹

Time and time again the miners' spokesmen make reference to their own experience in the mines. When he spoke in Parliament in 1959, Tom Swain had only been away from the coal mines for nine weeks.³² In opposing a move by Conservative backbenchers to reduce the National Coal Board's borrowing power, T. J. Brown could describe from personal experience the problems of the coal industry as it begins to run out of good coal deposits. It is not the miners' fault that there is more foreign matter in the coal today than had

²⁸Ibid. (1960-1961), Vol. 638, col. 95 (February 20, 1961).

²⁹Ibid., col. 140 (February 20, 1961).

³⁰Ibid. (1961-1962), Vol. 650, col. 671 (December 4, 1961).

³¹Samuel H. Beer, British Politics in the Collectivist Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 23-24.

³²Parliamentary Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 614, cols. 92 ff. (November 23, 1959).

formerly been the case. The fact of the matter is that the good coal seams are nearly all played out and the miners have had to start working seams of poorer quality.³³

The miners' sponsored Members' interventions in these coal and power debates illustrate a common theme. They were seeking to defend the National Coal Board from any real or imagined Conservative attacks and to urge the Government to adopt some sort of unified fuel policy. Monetary considerations should only be one of the factors involved in setting future goals for the industry. The unified fuel policy urged by the miners was partially aimed at protecting the domestic coal industry against the importation of cheap oil and gas. The miners' spokesmen went to great length to point out the extra costs involved in the dependence on foreign sources of power,³⁴ and to suggest that a national fuel policy could be a major factor in encouraging economic development in Britain. One way in which this could be done would be the construction of additional coal powered electrical generating plants or the building of plants for the conversion of coal to gas in depressed areas such as the Northeast.³⁵

If we shift our attention to Oral and Written Questions, the same pattern of specialization appears as shown in Table 23.

³³Ibid., Vol. 616, cols. 223 ff. (November 27, 1959).

³⁴Ibid., Vol. 614, cols. 124-128 (November 11, 1959).

³⁵Ibid. (1962-1963), Vol. 667, cols. 1110 ff. (November 20, 1962).

TABLE 23

QUESTION SPECIALIZATION BY MINERS, 1962-1963

Department	Questions Directed at the Ministry of Fuel and Power					
	By All Members of Parliament (N = 630)		By Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament (N = 87)		By Members of Parliament Sponsored by Miners' Union (N = 30)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Fuel and Power	292	2.0%	75	3.6%	40	4.5%
All Other Departments	14,316	98.0%	2,009	96.4%	849	95.5%
Totals	14,608	100.0%	2,084	100.0%	889	100.0%

The Members sponsored by the miners' union devote a greater proportion of their questions to the Minister of Fuel and Power than do all of the trade union sponsored Members. Table 23 is similar to the previous three tables with the addition of a third group of legislators, the Members of Parliament sponsored by the National Union of Mineworkers. They are a subgroup within the larger group of trade union sponsored Members. The proportion or percentage of their questions directed to the Minister of Fuel and Power is based on the total number of questions asked by the miners. The data for the 30 miners' representatives was extracted from the larger group of trade union sponsored Members for the separate presentation shown here.

The miners offer one of the clearest cases of particular interests being represented in the House of Commons,³⁶ but they are hardly typical of the trade union sponsored Members as a whole. The congruence between their personal experience as miners, their organizational affiliation to the National Union of Mineworkers, and the dominant position of mining in most of their constituencies is unusual. This last factor, of course, is what distinguished the

³⁶ The same type of specialization was reported in the late nineteenth century by H. J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), p. 326; and in the third decade of the twentieth century by James Johnston, A Hundred Commoners (London: Herbert Joseph, 1931), p. 227.

miners from most other sponsored Members.³⁷ With only a very few exceptions, the other trade union sponsored Members come from constituencies which include a number of different major industries.

The Railwaymen

The railroad industry provides an example of this latter situation where the constituencies represented by railway union sponsored Members of Parliament are not predominantly railroad constituencies. The railwaymen lend themselves to the type of analysis which we have been using in this part of the study because of industrial nature of their unions and the existence of a government department which has primary responsibility for the industry covered by the unions. The railway employees are organized in three unions: the National Union of Railwaymen, the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Transport Salaried Staffs

³⁷ The importance of constituency interests in influencing the miners' activity in coal debates is suggested by Woodrow Wyatt's similar interests. Wyatt is not a miner, nor is he sponsored by the National Union of Mineworkers, but his constituency includes a large number of miners. See Parliamentary Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 614, cols. 100 ff. (November 3, 1959). Cf. the remarks made by one official of the miner's union when he wrote:

"All Miner's sponsored M.P.s are, as you will probably be aware, members of a Miners' Political Group in Parliament seeking to improve the conditions of miners in particular, BUT ALWAYS, OF COURSE, FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT ALL CLASSES OF PERSONS IN THE CONSTITUENCY MUST BE CATERED FOR." (emphasis added)

Letter from R. Main, Secretary, Northumberland Area, National Union of Mineworkers, August 17, 1964.

Association. The 14 Members sponsored by these unions in the House of Commons do not come anywhere as near to dominating railway debates as the miners do for the debates affecting their industry.³⁸ Some of the railway representatives seldom speak in railway debates. For example, Charles Howell entered the House of Commons in 1955, but it was not until 1961 when the House was debating the appointment of Dr. Richard Beeching as Head of the British Transport Commission that he finally made a speech in a debate on transport.³⁹ Other railway union sponsored Members such as W. T. Proctor, H. Hynd, and G. H. R. Rogers failed to take part in any of the railway debates between 1959 and 1964, and

³⁸Major transport debates directly involving the railroads during the 1959-1964 Parliament include: Parliamentary Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 627, cols. 2358 ff. (October 26, 1960); Ibid. (1960-1961), Vol. 633, cols. 615 ff. (January 30, 1961); Ibid., Vol. 637, cols. 930-1058, 1153-1275 (November 20 and 21, 1961); Ibid. (1963-1964), Vol. 698, cols. 425 ff. (July 8, 1964).

While the railwaymen have no rota system comparable to that of the miners, there does seem to be some sort of understanding among some of them that they will try to insure that all of the railwaymen will have an opportunity to participate in railroad debates. For example, Percy Collick indicated that he would not speak in a railroad debate if another Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen sponsored Member had spoken. Interview with Percy Collick, M. P., July 20, 1964. Another Member suggested that there was also an informal rota among the Members sponsored by the Transport Salaried Staffs Association. Interview with G. H. R. Rogers, M. P., July 28, 1964.

³⁹Parliamentary Debates (1960-1961), Vol. 637, col. 297 (March 21, 1961).

lacking anything like the miners' rota, they were not likely to be given an opportunity. Further evidence of the weaker ties between the railway representatives and their unions is suggested in the relative infrequency with which they declare their interest in transport debates.⁴⁰ Not that their union affiliation is unknown, but that they simply do not bother to mention it.

Transportation, of course, includes more than railroads. In our analysis of debate we sought to deal only with debates which involved the railroads directly. When we examined questions, this is not quite as easy to do. To isolate out only those questions dealing with the railways would involve far more labor than would be warranted, and the competition between highways and railways would lessen the reality of such a distinction. Keeping this distortion in mind,

⁴⁰ One of the few direct declarations of interest by the railway representatives is found at Ibid., Vol. 633, col. 702 (January, 1961). In the debate on the Estimates for the Ministry of Transport in 1964, D. Webster, a Conservative, attacked the National Union of Railwaymen. In the ensuing exchange, it was the speaker on the Government side who called attention to Spriggs' links with the union rather than Spriggs himself. See Parliamentary Debates (1963-1964), Vol. 698, cols. 502-509 (July 8, 1964).

The role confusion affecting the railwaymen in the House of Commons in this regard is suggested by the comments of one Member: "I am quite sure that the Conference of this Union would not say that we were merely concerned with railway matters in Parliament but would recognize our contribution in the wider fields of political activity. The transport Parliamentary representatives are examining the latest report of the B.T.C. in anticipation of an early debate on that report." Mr. J. B. Hynd, M.P., to the National Union of Railwaymen, Annual General Meeting (1960), Proceedings, Vol. II (Sixth day), p. 63.

we have tried to analyze Questions asked by Members sponsored by the railway union. As the figures in Table 24 suggest, the Members sponsored by the railway unions show a specialization in terms of their Oral And Written Questions which is roughly parallel to that of the miners.⁴¹ Table 24 is similar to Table 23 except that we have isolated the questions asked by the railway sponsored Members rather than the miners. It will be apparent that the railway spokesmen, while not so specialized in debate as the miners, are even more specialized when we look at questions.

SPECIALIZATION AND INTEREST REPRESENTATION

We have carried our analysis of debate and questions far enough now to suggest one partial answer for the poor reputation of the trade union sponsored Members in the House of Commons. As J. F. S. Ross has suggested, they tend to devote a very considerable amount of their attention to the representation of particular interests from the industrial sector of British society.⁴² Given their formal affiliation to the trade union movements symbolized by their sponsored status, the trade union

⁴¹The activity of the railwaymen in the House of Commons is recognized by their unions. For example, see Transport Salaried Staffs Association, Report (1961), p. 34, paragraph 276; Ibid. (1962), pp. 33-34, paragraph 273 and paragraph 278; Ibid. (1963), p. 36, paragraph 302.

⁴²J. F. S. Ross, Parliamentary Representation (Second, enlarged edition; London: Eyre and Spottswood, 1948), p. 138.

TABLE 24
QUESTION SPECIALIZATION BY RAILWAYMEN, 1962-1963

Department	Questions Directed at the Ministry of Transport					
	By All Members of Parliament (N = 630)		By Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament (N = 87)		By Members of Parliament Sponsored by Railway Unions (N = 14)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Transport	1,263	8.6%	192	9.2%	38	14.1%
All Other Departments	13,345	91.4%	1,892	90.8%	231	85.9%
Totals	14,608	100.0%	2,084	100.0%	269	100.0%

sponsored Members not only tend to interest themselves in certain specific topics, but this specialization can be fairly easily identified with their organizational affiliations.

This pattern of specialization on the part of the union sponsored Members suggests that they do not behave in the same way as other spokesmen of special interests in the House of Commons. The trade union representatives do specialize, and even if they do not explicitly ask questions on behalf of their sponsoring unions as Stewart suggests,⁴³ they still ask a very high proportion of them in areas of interest to their unions.

The specialization of the sponsored Members is not sufficient grounds for assuming that they do so at the request of their unions. As we have already suggested, the decline in the expectations of the unions and the sponsored Members⁴⁴ would indicate that the trade unionists are falling back more on their occupational experience as they look at issues which come before Parliament. In this context, the trade union sponsored Members are no different from other occupational groups found in the House, and we might expect to

⁴³J. D. Stewart, British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relations to the House of Commons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 82. Stewart's concentration of their institutional affiliation apparently led him to ignore the more general substantive nature of the sponsored Members' contribution to Question Hour. The same is true of participation in debate. Ibid., p. 84.

⁴⁴Above, Chapters III and IV.

find similar patterns of specialization among other groups such as company directors, farmers, or teachers.

In contrast to these other groups, however, the public organization affiliation of the trade union sponsored Members gives added emphasis to their specialization and lays them open to the charge of neglecting the public interest. The failure of the trade union sponsored Members to take an active part in issues such as military or defence policy and foreign affairs simply adds credence to the charge that they neglect the public interest. By thus apparently publicly flaunting their rejection of the nineteenth century Liberal or Radical concepts of representation which emphasizes the independence of the Member of Parliament from outside commitments and which is still one of the more common public definitions of the role of the Member of Parliament,⁴⁵ the trade unionists almost ask for the criticism of the defenders of the traditional myths of representation.

LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR AND PERSONAL BACKGROUND

The issue specialization among the trade union sponsored Members discussed above is related to their usual background in

⁴⁵For example, see the explanation of the representative's role given in Alfred J. Junz, The Student Guide to Parliament (London: Hansard Society, 1960), p. 5. Cf. the brilliant and suggestive distinction between the Liberal and Whitehall languages made by A. H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), pp. 165-166.

industry, and that is but one aspect of the set of experiences and characteristics which they bring to the House of Commons. Turning from issue specialization, we are now going to devote some attention to selected other social and political variables which might be related to their general contribution to parliamentary activity.

In undertaking a quantitative analysis of legislative behavior we are concerned with three different types of legislative activity. They are: 1) questions; 2) standing committees; and 3) debate. For each of these we have sought to construct indices which measure the rate of a Member's participation in the activity. This was done for three different groups of Members taken from a population composed of all Members of Parliament who served in the House of Commons from 1959 until 1964 without being either a member of the Government or an officer of the House of Commons at any time during this period.⁴⁶ The differences among these three groups' legislative behavior can be seen in Table 25 and Appendix XV.

The data presented in Table 25 and Appendix XV clearly suggests a difference in the rates of legislative activity between the two parties, but this is in part an artifact of the kinds of activity and the nature of the population being utilized for the study. The relatively low rate of activity among the Conservatives is due in part to the

⁴⁶For a discussion of how the indices used to measure these activities were constructed and the nature of the groups used for comparison with the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament, see Appendix IX.

TABLE 25
LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR BY GROUP MEANS

Behavior Index	Type of Legislative Behavior	Groups		
		Trade Unionists (N = 87)	Other Labor (N = 27)	All Labor Members in Population (N = 224)
Number of Questions per Member of Each Group (Three Session Total)	Oral Questions	41.5	66.0	56.5
	Supplementary Questions	33.8	65.5	53.2
	Written Questions	16.5	32.3	26.2
Frequency of Standing Committee Activity per Member of Each Group (Five Session Total)	Summons	53.9	57.7	56.2
	Attendance	38.0	43.5	41.4
Length of Index Entry per Member of each Group (Four Session Total)	Debate	160.3	255.9	218.8

fact that the most active and important group of Conservative Members, i. e. , members of the Government, were excluded from the basic population. They were excluded because they never ask questions and they are relatively inactive on standing committees. The reverse is true when speaking of debate for here the excluded Conservatives would probably have ranked so high as to have quite outscored everyone else. The Labor Party groups include representatives from the Shadow Cabinet and these individuals are the most active participants for the Opposition. Because of this built-in bias against the Conservatives, it is quite difficult to draw any conclusions from the last column of Table 25 and the first column of Appendix XV.

It might be argued that the Conservative backbenchers are less active than the supporters of the Labor Party because they do not wish to embarrass their fellow Conservatives in the Government. The Conservative backbenchers make up for this enforced inactivity by work on the standing committees when the members of the Government are less active because of their administrative duties. But such an explanation is severely limited by the lack of data with regard to Members of the Government.

The difference between the two parties, however, is marginal to the real reason for the inclusion of this data. Of greater concern for this study are Columns 1 and 2 of Table 25 which deal with the two groups of Labor Party supporters, the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament and the non-trade union sponsored Members.

Examination of the data presented in these two columns will suggest that there is something at work within the Labor Party to cause a very considerable variation between the two groups. Simply looking at the information presented in the first two columns of Table 25, it would seem that trade union sponsorship may be a determinant of legislative inactivity. The trade union sponsored Members continue to appear to be dependent on other Members of Parliament. Without exception, the union sponsored Members are less active than the non-union sponsored Labor Members. Even on standing committees, the trade union sponsored Members are less active than are other Labor Members despite the frequent perception of the trade unionists to the opposite.⁴⁷

Inactivity, of course, is a purely quantitative matter. It need not necessarily be equated with ineffectiveness or unimportance.

Many M. P. s are content with the role of a national auxiliary, quietly supporting the party line in each division, or undertaking an unglamorous junior ministerial post. These M. P. s provide ballast; their inactivity and lack of initiative contributes to the stability and predictability of parliamentary life. By the same token, when the trade union M. P. s in the Labour Party or the 'knights of the shires' in the Conservative Party begin to express disquiet, party leaders are alerted to the seriousness of a political situation.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Interviews with Frank McLeavy, M. P., July 22, 1964 and Charles Pannell, M. P., July 6, 1964.

⁴⁸ Richard Rose, Politics in England (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p. 93.

And when the remarks of a heretofore quiet and loyal backbencher lead to a shift in party policy or strategy is not something which can be readily known.

The generally lower rate of activity among the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament is not easily explained. The union and constituency selections processes used in the selection of Parliamentary candidates would scarcely seem designed to produce inactive Members of Parliament. Nor are the impressionistic conclusions of some writers that the unions are continuing to use the House of Commons as a consolation prize for officials who fail to reach the top in the union backed up by very much solid evidence.⁴⁹ Whatever may have been the case in the fourth phase of interest representation between the two World Wars, the changing nature of union parliamentary representation in the years since 1945 would appear to offer much less evidence to support this conclusion. As parliamentary representation takes on an increasingly symbolic function for the unions and is viewed by them as an aid for the Labor Party rather than as an aid to the sponsoring union, the unions seem increasingly willing to sponsor men with little direct industrial experience. To such men, the union is only a means to an end rather

⁴⁹ Martin Harrison, Trade Unions and the Labor Party Since 1945 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960), pp. 285-292; Austin Ranney, Pathways to Parliament (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 1965), pp. 224, 245. Cf. Michael Shanks, The Stagnant Society (London: Penguin Books, 1961), pp. 96-97.

than an end in its own right, and it would seem that it would be steadily less valid to speak of union sponsorship as a consolation prize offered to those who failed to reach the top in the union. Since the selection process fails to offer a satisfactory explanation for the differences between the two groups of Labor Members, we must look elsewhere.

Social Background of Political Decision Makers

A frequently studied source of possible differences in political behavior is the background of the groups being studied.⁵⁰ This offers a preliminary clue or guide to explain the differences between the two groups of Labor Members of Parliament. In Table 26 we have compared the two groups of Labor supporters (and the Conservatives as well) in terms of four selected social or political characteristics.

Examination of Table 26 will indicate a general pattern of difference between the two Labor party groups. The trade union sponsored Members are older, less well educated, and have a greater electoral majority than do their predominantly middle-class colleagues. Only with regard to seniority are the two groups at about the same level.

⁵⁰For example, see Donald S. Matthews, The Social Background of Political Decision Makers (New York: Random House, 1955); W. L. Guttsman, The British Political Elite (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963).

TABLE 26

BACKGROUND DIFFERENCES

Background Characteristic	Group		
	Trade Unionists (N = 87)	Other Labor (N=27)	Conservative Backbenchers (N = 48)
1. Age	57.21	51.22	46.96
2. Seniority	10.06	10.22	6.02
3. Education	2.46	5.41	5.79
4. Majority (%)	24.60	17.78	20.63

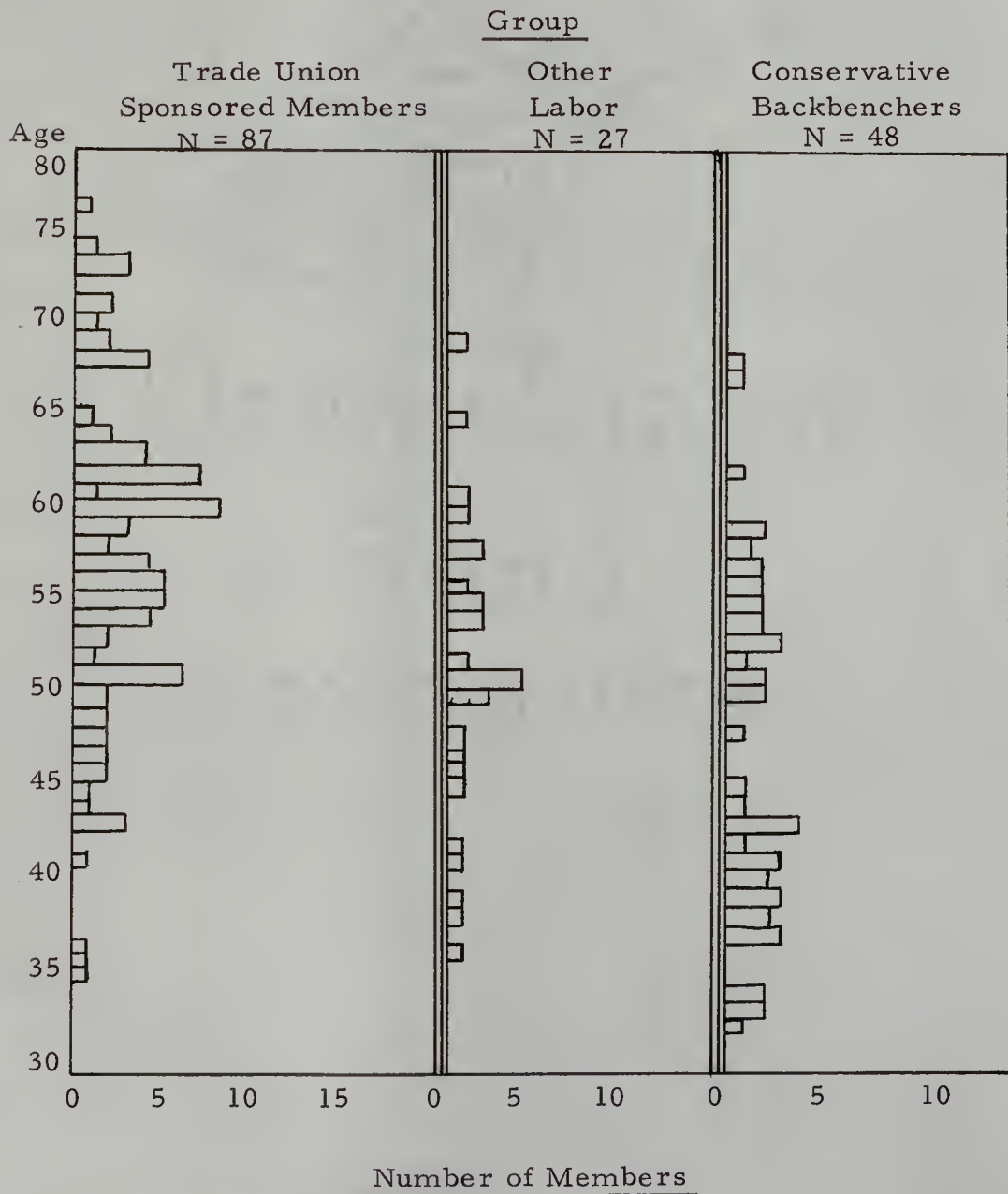
Notes:

The figures given in Table 26 are the mean scores of each variable for the three different categories of Members of Parliament. The first variable, age, is based on the Members' ages in October, 1959. The second variable, seniority, is based on the number of years that the Members had served prior to October, 1959. The third variable is a measure of education. It is based on data collected by Dr. David Butler of Nuffield College, Oxford. Using this data, we categorized it as follows: (0) Unknown; (1) Elementary; (2) Elementary plus night school or adult education; (3) Secondary; (4) Secondary plus night school or adult education; (5) Public School; (6) Other Universities; (7) Cambridge; (8) Oxford. We categorized a Member according to the highest level of education obtained.

The ranking of categories which we used is a crude attempt to recognize both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the British educational system. (Such a scheme is obviously open to serious question.) The numbers of the categories were then used to calculate the mean for each group. Obviously, the means refers to no one educational category. Its utility here is to indicate the differences in the educational achievements of the different groups of Members of Parliament. The fourth variable refers to the difference between the votes polled by the Member in 1959 and the number of votes pulled by his nearest opponent. We determined the percentage of the votes received by the Member in his constituency in 1959 and the percentage of votes secured by his nearest opponent. The variable is the actual difference between these two percentages.

By examining the actual distribution of the Members in each group for each variable, we can see part of the reason for the differences shown in Figure 3. In the following set of bar graphs can be seen the age distribution of each of the three groups.

Fig. 3. --Distribution According to Age of the Members of Each Group of Members of Parliament

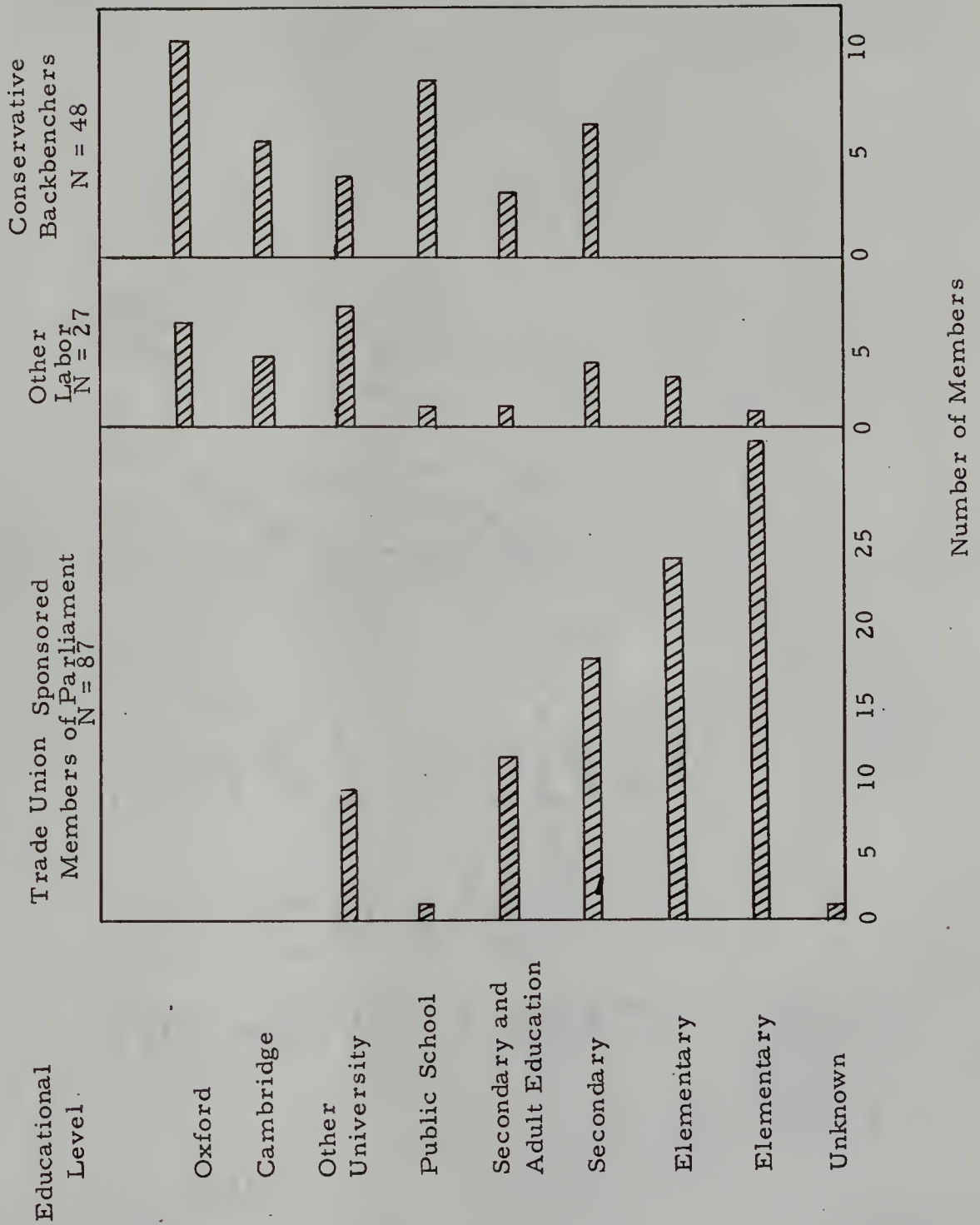


It is immediately obvious that the trade union sponsored Members include the overwhelming bulk of the Members aged 60 or above. Even given the differences in the sizes of the groups involved, the union sponsored Members are overly represented here: 43% of the union sponsored Labor Members are 60 years of age or older while only 15% of the non-union sponsored Labor Members and 6% of the Conservative backbenchers fall into this category. The other Labor Members tend to be somewhat more homogeneous in terms of age than do the trade union sponsored Members.

In a similar way, we show in the following figure that the trade union sponsored Members include a disproportionate number of the legislators with only an elementary school education. While there are a few among them with some sort of collegiate training, the great majority are lacking it. The non-trade union sponsored Members and the Conservative backbenchers are over-represented in the higher educational categories. The quite different educational levels of the two groups of Labor Members makes meaningful comparison difficult. The distribution of Members in each of the three groups for the other variables show a similar pattern of differences. The corresponding figures for seniority and majority are shown in the Appendix.⁵¹

⁵¹See Appendices X and XI.

Fig. 4. --Distribution According to Educational Level of the Members of each Group of Members of Parliament



With these differences shown in Table 26 and Figures 3 and 4, we might begin to expect to find an explanation for the differences in the legislative behavior of the two groups of Labor Members. There are certain a priori reasons for assuming these differences in background (especially age and education) would be crucial in explaining the behavioral differences, and there is very limited empirical evidence to support this reasoning.⁵²

In order to test the validity of the hypothesis that some or all of the differences in the behavior patterns of the two groups of Labor Members might be explained by the differences in their social and political background, we determined the correlation between each of these social or political variables and each type of behavior. The correlation of age and legislative behavior is shown in Table 27.

The correlations shown in Table 27 apply only to the specified groups of Members of Parliament and attempts to generalize beyond them would be quite misleading because of the nature of the population from which they were drawn. They can tell us very little about the Parliamentary Labor Party as a whole, the Conservative Members of Parliament, or all Members of the House of Commons. Because

⁵² See Finer, et. al., pp. 14-23. Within the Labor Party, Finer found occupation, education, sponsorship, age, and year of first election to be related to the types of Early Day Motions that a Member would sign. Majority was not found to be a significant variable. It should be emphasized that Finer was dealing with qualitative rather quantitative data.

TABLE 27
CORRELATION OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR AND AGE
BY GROUP

Type of Legislative Behavior		GROUP				
		Opposition			Government	Government and Opposition Combined N = 162
		Trade Unionists N = 87	Other Labor N = 27	Total Opposition N = 114	Conservative Backbenchers N = 48	
Questions	Oral	1	2	3	4	5
		-.242	-.012	-.220	-0.099	-.112
		-.343	.157	-.245	-.069	-.099
	Written	-.297	-.147	-.287	-.023	-.176
Standing Committee	Summones	-.291	-.044	-.238	-.136	-.225
	Attendances	-.274	.060	-.215	-.191	-.221
Debate		-.304	.365	-.173	-.059	-.080
Coefficient of correlation must equal the following values for each N to be statistically significant at the 5% level.		.212	.381	.186	.287	.159
		= P .05				

of these limitations, the data in the last three columns of Table 27 is only included for purposes of information. Columns 3 and 5 particularly can be used for little more than description of parts of the population used in the study. Our discussion will be restricted to the two groups of Labor Party supporters, the trade union sponsored Members in column 1 and the non-trade union sponsored or other Labor Members in column 2.

Looking at the relationship of age and legislative behavior, we observe a rather interesting pattern. Among the trade union sponsored Members, age is statistically significantly related to behavior. But among the other Labor group there is no such significant relationship. While the figures suggest that activity tends to decrease as age increases among the union sponsored Members, the relationship for the other Labor Members is much less, or, in the case of debate and Supplementary Questions, it is actually reversed. That is to say that participation in debate, for example, tends to increase with age among the non-union sponsored Members. But it should be noted that in no cases do either the positive or negative correlations reach the statistically significant level among non-union sponsored Labor Members.

The relation between age and behavior indicated by the correlations in Table 27 are further clarified for the two Labor Party groups by a different form of presentation shown in Table 28.

TABLE 28

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND LEGISLATIVE
BEHAVIOR FOR EACH GROUP OF LABOR
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Type of Behavior		Behavior Index	Group			
			Trade Union Sponsored Members N = 87		Other Labor Members N = 27	
			Young (59 and under)	Old (60 and above)	Young (59 and under)	Old (60 and above)
Questions	Oral	Low	25	32	13	2
		High	24	5	10	2
	Supplementary	Low	21	32	13	1
		High	28	5	10	3
	Written	Low	34	32	13	2
		High	13	5	10	2
Standing Committees	Summones	Low	19	28	10	2
		High	30	9	13	2
	Attendance	Low	27	32	13	2
		High	22	5	10	2
Debate	Low	Low	21	24	8	1
	High	High	28	13	15	3

In Table 28, we have divided the Labor Party groups according to age. The older category includes the Members aged 60 or above in October, 1959, among either the union sponsored Members of Parliament or the other Labor group. The younger category includes all those Members less than 60 years of age in October, 1959. While the small number in the other Labor category make meaningful comparison impossible, it will be noted that the trade union sponsored Members 60 years of age or above tend to be less active in all six forms of activity.

Thus, participation would seem to decline after 60 and the lack of Members over 60 in the non-trade union sponsored group of Labor Members means that the negative correlations are either lessened, or, in the case of Supplementary Questions, standing committee attendance, and debate, actually reversed.

A second background variable which one would assume to be related to active is education. In Table 29 we show the correlation coefficients between our educational classification and legislative behavior.

The data presented in Table 29 is much less satisfying as an attempt to explain behavior when compared with age. None of the correlations reach the statistically significant level. Even more confusing is the frequent occurrence of negative correlation here. One would have assumed that activity would tend to increase with education, but the figures indicate the opposite in a number of cases.

TABLE 29

CORRELATION OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR AND EDUCATION (B)
BY GROUP

Type of Legislative Behavior		GROUP					
		Opposition			Government		Government and Opposition Com- bined N = 162
		Trade Unionists N = 87	Other Labor N = 27	Total Opposition N = 114	Conservative Backbenchers N = 48		
Questions	Standing Com- mittees	1	2	3	4	5	
		.189	-.128	.167	-.282	-.013	
		.251	-.051	.256	-.279	.030	
		.183	-.351	.098	-.027	.022	
	Summones	-.039	-.121	-.032	-.188	-.029	
Debate	Attendances	.034	-.039	.003	-.133	.002	
		.108	.068	.226	.093	.085	
Coefficient of correlation must equal the following values for each N to be statistically significant at the 5% level.							
		.212	.381	.186	.287	.159	
				= $p > .05$			

The most extreme example of this is to be found in the correlation on education and Written Questions for the other Labor group. Part of the failure to find any expected pattern of correlations may be due to the partially arbitrary system of categorizing education which sought to take into account both quantitative and qualitative factors. To further explore this possibility, the two groups of Labor Party Members have been divided into those with only an elementary school education and those with more than an elementary school education (regardless of how much more or what sort). Using these two categories, we have then classified the Members of each group according to their level of legislative activity. This classification is shown in Table 30. It will be noted that those with only an elementary education tend to be less active than those with more than an elementary education. The lack of additional Members with only an elementary education in the other Labor groups prevents meaningful comparison between the two groups of Labor supporters.

Having shown that activity tends to diminish with age after 60 and that it increases with education above the elementary level, what is the relation between age and education and between these two variables and legislative activity? First, age and education alone. The data presented in Table 31 suggests a tendency among the trade union sponsored Members for the younger Members to be better educated than the older Members.

TABLE 30

THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR
FOR EACH GROUP OF LABOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Type of Behavior		Behavior Index	Group			
			Trade Union Sponsored Members by Education		Other Labor Members by Education	
			LOW (N = 86) (Elementary)	HIGH (More than elementary)	LOW (N = 27) (Elementary)	HIGH (More than elementary)
Questions	Oral	Low	20	37	--	15
		High	9	20	1	11
	Supple- mentary	Low	18	35	--	14
		High	11	22	1	12
	Written	Low	24	44	1	14
		High	5	13	--	12
Standing Committees	Summones	Low	19	28	1	11
		High	10	29	--	15
	Attendance	Low	21	38	1	14
		High	8	19	--	12
Debate	Low	21	24	1	8	
	High	8	33	--	18	

TABLE 31

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND EDUCATION
OF TRADE UNION SPONSORED
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

		Education		Total
		Low	High	
Age	Young	14	35	49
	Old	15	22	37
	Total	29	57	86

With this relation in mind, what then is the combined effect of these two variables on behavior? An attempt to answer this question is presented in Table 32.

Among the older trade union sponsored Members, higher education only seems to be related to increased activity on standing committees summons and debate. Among the younger trade union sponsored Members, an increase in formal education is more often related to an increase in formal activity. This is most apparent when we look at Oral Questions, standing committee summons, and debate. This relationship is reduced or non-existent for the other three types of legislative behavior. On the other hand, older trade union sponsored Members

TABLE 32

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND EDUCATION ON
BEHAVIOR OF TRADE UNION SPONSORED
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Type of Legislative Behavior	Behavior Index	GROUP					
		Trade Union Sponsored Members N = 86			Other Labor Members N = 27		
		Education			Education		
		Low	High		Low	High	
		Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age
Type of Legislative Behavior	Behavior Index	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
		8	12	17	20	--	--
		13	2			13	2
Oral Questions	Low	6	3	18	2	--	1
						10	1
	High						
Supplementary Questions	Low	5	13	16	19	--	--
						13	1
	High						
Written Questions	Low	9	2	19	3	--	1
						10	2
	High						
Standing Committee Summones	Low	11	13	25	19	--	1
						13	1
	High						
Standing Committee Summones	Low	3	2	10	2	--	--
						10	2
	High						
Standing Committee Summones	Low	5	14	14	14	--	1
						10	2
	High						
Standing Committee Summones	Low	9	1	21	8	--	--
						13	2
	High						

Written Questions	High	Low	Education		Age		Behavior		Attendance		Standing Committee Summons		Debate	
			High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
	3	2	10	3										
	5	14	14	14										
	9	1	21	8										
	8	13	19	19										
	6	2	16	3										
	10	11	11	13										
	4	4	24	9										

Notes

Education is defined as follows:

Low = elementary
High = all other categories
(excluding one unknown)

Age is defined as follows:

Young = Members aged 59 or below
Old = Members aged 60 or above

Behavior indices are defined as follows:

1. Oral and Supplementary Questions
Low = 39 questions or less; High = 40 questions or above
2. Written Questions
Low = 19 questions and below
High = 20 questions or above
3. Standing committee summons and attendance
Low = 39 summons or attendance and below
High = 40 summons or attendance and above
4. Debate
Low = 99 or below; High = 100 and above

with only an elementary education seem to be most often found in the low behavior category.

On the whole, the data presented in Table 32 would tend to support the conclusion that it is age rather than education which is best related to variations in legislative activity of the trade union sponsored Members. Education does, however, tend to reinforce age as a determinant of legislative activity. The other two variables, seniority and parliamentary majority, which were originally suggested as possible correlates of legislative activity seem to have even less relationship to activity than does education.⁵³

Why Members over the age of 60 tend to be less active is not completely clear. Impressionistic evidence gathered through direct observation of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament would suggest that the best explanation is found in the various physical and mental problems frequently associated with approaching of age. Since the trade union representatives start their parliamentary careers at an older age (their mean is 6 years above that of their non-union sponsored Labor colleagues while their mean seniority is roughly the same) they are less able to adapt to the patterns of behavior expected of a Member of Parliament and they have less time in which to do so. In addition, having had such a long association with their sponsoring union prior to entering the House of Commons, the sponsored Members find it more difficult to respond to some of

⁵³ See Appendices X-XIII. The generally negative correlations of seniority and behavior is a reflection of the impact of age on activity.

their other clienteles. This was reflected in Aneurin Bevan's comments: "If the new Member gets there too late in life he is already trailing a pretty considerable past of his own, making him heavy footed and cautious."⁵⁴

One of the trade union representatives, W. R. Williams, M.P., for example, has stated that "the trade unionists enter the House too old to be able to afford to make mistakes."⁵⁵ A related sentiment is expressed by one whip when he suggested that Members who enter the House after the age of 50 are seldom able to make a full contribution to the world of the Party. The Party leaders would prefer that some method be devised for insuring that such men would usually not be adopted as a candidate.⁵⁶ This view is supported by the already reported tendency of sponsoring Members who enter Parliament prior to the age of 40 to rise to top leadership positions in the Parliamentary Party.⁵⁷ It is true that the Members aged 60 and above in 1959 had grown up in a society which offered fewer educational opportunities to men of their class. But we were unable

⁵⁴A. Bevan, In Place of Fear (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), p. 6. Bevan entered the House at an unusually young age for a union sponsored Member.

⁵⁵Quoted by Charles Pannell, M.P., in an interview, July 6, 1964.

⁵⁶The whip of the Parliamentary Labor Party who reported this asked to remain anonymous.

⁵⁷Above, pp. 232-234, Guttsman comments: "Seniority rather than age counts toward success in Parliament, and those who enter politics young have a greater chance of obtaining office than those who become M.P.s only when they are well advanced in middle age." Guttsman, p. 201.

to find any clear-cut pattern which related the educational differential to differences in behavior.

SUMMARY

TRADE UNIONISTS IN PARLIAMENT

We began this study with two major objectives. First, we sought to illustrate certain aspects of a five phase developmental model of interest representation. Second, we sought to analyze the relation between certain social and political characteristics of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament and their legislative behavior.

The developmental model of interest representation which we sought to illustrate has five distinct phases. In the first phase, one of the characteristic types of behavior is found in disorganized, anomic behavior. The British working class entered this phase in the early nineteenth century. The second or organizational phase for the British working class came during the middle of the century when trade unions and friendly societies began to be organized and secured limited amounts of legal protection. The working classes, organized in the trade unions, may be said to have entered the third or electoral and parliamentary phase in the second half of the century with the passage of the Reform Act of 1867 and the election of the first trade unionists to the House of Commons in 1874. Beginning during World War I and the 1920's, the

trade unions entered the fourth or consultative phase suggested by the model. This study has focused on the last three phases of the model.

As the unions entered the electoral and parliamentary phase of interest representation in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were seeking legal protection of their organizations and political reform of industrial conditions. In order to achieve these objectives, the unions sent many of their top leaders into the House of Commons. Because of their dual positions, as union leaders and as Members of Parliament, these early trade unionists were able to conceal or be free of much of the conflict which arose between the unions and union supported Members of Parliament in the consultative phase. While the Members of Parliament were acutely aware of the problems involved in trying to fulfill the expectations of their various clientele, the resulting role confusion did not lead to serious union-Member conflict for the most part.

It was this problem that came to a head in the fourth or consultative phase of interest representation for the unions. Gradually, the union leaders began to withdraw from the House of Commons. Their replacements came from among the lower ranking officials in the unions or even the union rank and file. The unions came to see the House as more of a retiring ground for over-age officials, or a consolation prize for those who failed to make it to the top in the union itself. Such union officials (and their rank and file colleagues among the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament) lacked the close personal ties with the union leadership that had existed prior to World War I.

In order to maintain communication between the unions and the Members of Parliament, various formal agencies were established. In addition, the unions made more of an attempt to insure that the Members of Parliament were in agreement with the unions' position by refusing to sponsor again men who were not. Gradually, as the unions acquired greater confidence in their consultative status during World War II and the labor government of 1945-1951, the channels of communication between unions and Members were frequently allowed to decay and the unions ceased to make operational demands on the Members for agreement with union policy. Parliamentary representation took on an increasingly symbolic function for the unions.

By the early 1960's this process had progressed so far that both union leaders and Members of Parliament were prepared to defend the independence of the legislator against hostile attack from rank and file union Members. Parliamentary Privilege, for example, was frequently cited by both union leaders and Members of Parliament as one of their major forms of defense.

Again, as the unions acquired additional confidence in their consultative status which continued even throughout the 1950's when the Conservatives were in power, they began to place less emphasis on the actual utility of union representation. In its place they defended sponsorship on the grounds of service to the Labor Party, prestige, tradition, and providing symbolic gratification to their rank and file members. With the decline in the perceived need for union representation,

the trade unions felt more free to sponsor men who had somewhat less industrial experience. This was true especially among the general unions. But it was supported by the gradual decline of industrial unions such as the miners and the rise of clerical and white collar unions. Even with the results of the 1964 and 1966 General Elections now available, it is still too soon to tell if these trends will continue or if the pattern of sponsoring will again change in yet unknown ways.

This fifth or symbolic phase of union representation and its emerging pattern of personal recruitment can be thought of as the final realization of a prediction made many years ago by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. "Any effective participation of the wage-earning class in the councils of the nation involves the establishment of a new calling, that of the professional representative."¹ The Webbs go on to describe the "professional representative" as "a man selected for natural aptitude, deliberately trained for his new work as a special vocation, devoting his whole time to the discharge of his manifold duties, and actively maintaining an intimate and reciprocal intellectual relationship with his constituency."² Surely the Webbs would approve the recruitment programs of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

When writing Industrial Democracy, the Webbs could point to the emergence of this type of representative in the professional staffs

¹Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Industrial Democracy (New edition; London: Longmans, Green, 1911), p. 65.

²Ibid., p. 70.

of the trade unions. But it is only a half century later that we can start to identify him on any scale among the parliamentary representatives of the trade unions.

The second portion of the main part of the study was devoted to an analysis of the position of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament within the Parliamentary Labor Party and within the House of Commons as a whole. Despite the organization of the trade union sponsored Members in the Trade Union Group, there is little or no evidence of their functioning as a cohesive bloc within the Party. Perhaps only on the subject of the legal position of trade unions would they have been willing to take bloc action.

The trade unionists made a major contribution to Party leadership. Perhaps not holding the top posts, they were still present in sufficient numbers that the trade union origins of the Party would not be easily forgotten. The trade union background of the Deputy Leaders in recent years has emphasized this. But again, there is little evidence that the trade unionists in the leadership of the Party made any habit of acting as a bloc to influence policy decisions by the Party.

Within the House of Commons as a whole, the trade union sponsored Members can be distinguished by the general pattern of their legislative behavior. In both the Questions Hour and debate, they demonstrated a tendency toward specialization in those industrial areas with which they were most familiar. Likewise, they also showed a tendency of refraining from participation on subjects such as defense

foreign policy. This pattern of specialization was reinforced by the positions held by sponsored Members in the Shadow Cabinet and by their domination of Labor participation in the work of the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries.

The subject specialization of the trade union sponsored Members of Parliament is partly responsible for their generally poor reputation as legislators since it appears to be an open and deliberate flaunting of the dominant Radical or Liberal myths concerning the proper role of a Member of Parliament. The failure of the trade unions to develop the role to the professional parliamentary representative as described by the Webbs has not helped the reputation of the trade unionists in the House of Commons. Lacking the training of a professional representative, the trade union sponsored Member is "confronted with facts and problems as foreign to his experience and training as his own business would be to the banker or country gentleman."³

In addition to subject specialization, the study includes some analysis of the trade unionists' quantitative participation in parliamentary activity. Here it was found that the trade unionists are generally less active than their other Labor Party colleagues. In trying to correlate the level of participation of the trade union sponsored Members in various types of legislative behavior with their social and political background, we found no significant patterns of correlation except as regards age. Variables as diverse as seniority, education, and

³Ibid., pp. 65-66.

constituency majority in 1959 seemed to have no regular pattern of relationship with the selected types of legislative behavior. And even age was statistically significant only for the sponsored Members and not for comparative groups of non-trade union Labor Members and Conservative backbenchers.

While it is known that the trade unionists usually enter the House at an older age than the rest of their Labor colleagues and that the trade unionists are generally less active in the House with regard to the Question Hour, standing committees, and debate, the correlation of age and legislative activity seemed to be a rather weak total explanation. At best, all we can say is that the relationship is suggestive. It is far from conclusive and much additional research into both the trade unionists' background, the indices used in measuring legislative activity and the types of activity themselves would be required before any final explanation of the differences in behavior within the Labor Party groups and the Conservative backbenchers can be attempted.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LABOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT PRIOR TO 1910

WITH TRADE UNION AFFILIATIONS

<u>Member</u>	<u>Trade Union Affiliation (if any)</u>
Abraham, W.	Miner (South Wales)
Adamson, W.	Miners (Fife)
Arch, Joseph	Agricultural Workers
Austin, M.	?
Barnes, G. N.*	Engineers
Bell, Richard*	Railway Servants
Bowerman, C. W.*	Compositors
Brace, W.	Miner (South Wales)
Broadhurst, Henry	Stonemasons
Burns, J.	Engineers
Burt, T.*	Miners (Northumberland)
Clynes, J. R.	Gasworkers
Crawford, W.*	Miners (Durham/Northumberland)
Crean, E.	Secretary, Irish Trades Association
Cremer, W. R.	Carpenters and Joiners
Crooks, W.	Coopers
CunninghameGraham, R. B.	?
Curran, Pete	Gasworkers
Davitt, M.	Irish Land League
Duncan, C.	Engineers/Transport Workers
Edwards, E.*	Miners (North Staffordshire/Midlands)
Fenwick, Charles*	Miners (Northumberland)
Gill, A. H.	Bolton Spinners
Glover, T.	Miners
Golstone, F. W.	Teachers
Grayson, V.	?
Hall, F.	Miners
Hancock, J. G.	Miners

<u>Member</u>	<u>Trade Union Affiliation (if any)</u>
Harvey, W. E.	Miners (Derbyshire)
Haslan, J.	Miners (Derbyshire)
Henderson, A.	Ironfounders
Hodge, J.*	Steel Smelters Association
Howell, G.	Bricklayers
Hudson, W.	Railway Servants
Jenkins, J.	?
Johnson, J.	Miners (Durham)
Johnson, W.*	Miners (Derbyshire/Midlands)
Jowett, F. W.	None
Keir Hardie, James	Miners (Lanarkshire/Ayrshire/Scotland)
Kelly, G. D.*	Lithographic Printers
Lansbury, George	None
Leicester, J.	Flint Glass Makers
Macdonald, Alexander	Miners (Scotland)
MacDonald, James Ramsey	None
Macpherson, J. T.	?
Maddison, F.	Railwayservants
Nichols, G.	Agricultural Workers
O'Grady, J.	Cabinet Makers
Parker, J.	?
Parrott, W.	Miners
Pickard, Benjamin*	Miners (Yorkshire)
Pointer, J.	Patternmakers
Richards, T.*	Miners (South Wales)
Richards, T. F.	Boot and Shoe Operatives
Richardson, A.	?
Richardson, F.	?
Roberts, G. H.	Typographical Association
Rowlands, J.	Cabmen (?)
Seddon, J. A.	Shop Assistants
Shackleton, David J.*	Weavers
Smith, A.	Nelson Overlookers
Snowden, P.	?
Stanley A.	Miners (Midland)
Steadman, W. C.*	Bargebuilders
Summerbell, T.	?
Sutton, J. E.	?
Taylor, J. W.	Durham Colliery Mechanics
Thomas, James Henry*	Railway Servants
Thorne, Will*	Gasworkers
Twist, H.	?
Vivian, H.	?
Wadsworth, J.	Miners
Walsh, Stanley	Miners

<u>Member</u>	<u>Trade Union Affiliation (if any)</u>
Ward, J.	Navvies
Wardle, George J.	Railwayservants
Wilkie, A.*	Ship Constructors and Shipwrights
Williams, J.	Miners
Wilson, John*	Miners (Durham)
Wilson, J. Havelock*	Sailors and Firemen
Wilson, W. T.	?
Woods, Stanley	Miners (Lancashire and Cheshire)

* Holder of Major Union Office.

Sources:

A. W. Humphrey, A History of Labour Representation (London: Constable, 1913), Appendix III, pp. 192-195.

G. D. H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914 (London: Routledge, 1941), Appendix I, pp. 255-301.

H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson, A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), passim.

APPENDIX II

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT IN 1924

Cabinet

J. R. Clynes (N. U. G. M. W.)--Lord Privy Seal and Deputy
Leader of the House of Commons.

Arthur Henderson (National Union of Foundry Workers)--Secretary
of State for Home Affairs.

J. H. Thomas (N. U. R.)--Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Stephen Walsh (Miners' Federation)--Secretary of State for War.

William Adamson (Miners' Federation)--Secretary of State for
Scotland.

Vernon Hartshorn (Miners' Federation)--Postmaster-General.

Thomas Shaw (U. T. F. W. A.)--Minister of Labor.

Not in Cabinet

Harry Gosling (T. G. W. U.)--Minister of Transport.

F. O. Roberts (T. A.)--Minister of Pensions.

Frank Hodges (Miners' Federation)--Civil Lord of the Admiralty.

Margaret Bondfield (N. U. G. M. W.)--Parliamentary Secretary,
Minister of Labor.

R. J. Davies (N. U. D. A. W.)--Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

J. Lawson (Miners' Federation)--Financial Secretary to the War Office.

C. G. Ammon (U. P. W.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Admiralty.

W. R. Smith (N. U. B. S. O.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Overseas Department, Board of Trade.

R. Richardson (Miners' Federation)--Charity Commissioner in the House of Commons.

G. Middleton (U. P. W.)--Second Church Estates Commissioner.

J. Robertson (Miners' Federation)--Lord Commissioner.

F. Hall (Miners' Federation)--Lord Commissioner.

G. H. Warne (Miners' Federation)--Lord Commissioner.

J. A. Parkinson (Miners' Federation)--Comptroller of the Household.

T. Griffiths (B. I. S. K. T. A.)--Treasurer of the Household.

J. E. Davison (National Union of Foundry Workers)--Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.

Source:

V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 237-238.

APPENDIX III

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT IN 1929

Cabinet

Arthur Henderson (National Union of Foundry Workers)--Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

J. H. Thomas (N. U. R.)--Lord Privy Seal

J. R. Clynes (N. U. G. M. W.)--Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Thomas Shaw (U. T. F. W. A.)--Secretary of State for War.

William Adamson (Miners' Federation)--Secretary of State for Scotland.

Margaret Bondfield (N. U. G. M. W.)--Minister of Labor.

Not in Cabinet

F. O. Roberts (T. A.)--Minister of Pensions.

Alfred Short (Boilermakers' Society)--Under Secretary for the Home Department.

W. Lunn (Miners' Federation)--Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade.

J. J. Lawson (Miners' Federation)--Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labor.

G. H. Hall (Miners' Federation)--Civil Lord of the Admiralty.

Ben Turner (National Union of Textile Workers)--Secretary for Mines.

J. Alan Parkinson (Miners' Federation)--Junior Lord of the Treasury.

Charles Edwards (Miners' Federation)--Junior Lord of the Treasury.

Ben Smith (T.G.W.U.)--Treasurer of the Household.

Robert Richardson (Miners' Federation)--Charity Commissioner in the House of Commons.

Source:

V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, 1960), p. 259.

APPENDIX IV

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT IN 1945

Cabinet

Ernest Bevin (T. G. W. U.)--Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

George Issacs (N. A. T. S. O. P. A.)--Minister of Labor.

J. J. Lawson (N. U. M.)--Secretary of State for War.

Ellen Wilkinson (U. S. D. A. W.)--Minister of Education.

Aneurin Bevan (N. U. M.)--Minister of Health.

Tom Williams (N. U. M.)--Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Not in Cabinet

A. Creech Jones (T. G. W. U.)--Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

W. J. Edwards (T. G. W. U.)--Civil Lord to the Admiralty.

J. B. Hynd (N. U. R.)--Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

G. H. Oliver (T. G. W. U.)--Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Ness Edwards (N. U. M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Labor.

James Griffiths (N. U. M.)--Minister of National Insurance.

G. S. Lindgren (T. S. S. A.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of National Insurance.

Wilfred Paling (N. U. M.)--Minister of Pensions.

W. A. Burke (U. S. D. A. W.)--Assistant Postmaster-General.

George Mathers (T. S. S. A.)--Treasurer of His Majesty's Household.

William Whiteley (N. U. M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury.

Joseph Henderson (N. U. R.)--Lord Commissioner.

Frank Collindridge (N. U. M.)--Lord Commissioner.

T. Fraser (N. U. M.)--Under-Secretary of State for Scotland.

George Buchanan (U. P. A.)--Under-Secretary of State for Scotland.

George Tomlinson (U. T. F. W. A.)--Minister of Works.

F. Marshall (N. U. G. M. W.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Town and Country Planning.

R. J. Taylor (N. U. M.)--Lord Commissioner.

Sir Ben Smith (T. G. W. U.)--Minister of Food.

Arthur Jenkins (N. U. M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Education.

Ellis Smith (U. P. A.)--Parliamentary Secretary, President of the Board of Trade.

E. J. Williams (N. U. M.)--Minister of Information.

William Foster (N. U. M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Fuel and Power.

Source:

V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 291-292.

APPENDIX V

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT AT DISSOLUTION IN OCTOBER, 1951

Cabinet

Tom Williams (N. U. M.)--Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

George Tomlinson (U. T. F. W. A.)--Minister of Education.

James Griffiths (N. U. M.)--Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Alfred Robens (U. S. D. A. W.)--Minister of Labor.

Not in Cabinet

W. J. Edwards (T. G. W. U.)--Civil Lord to the Admiralty.

Fred Lee (A. E. U.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Labor.

G. S. Lindgren (T. S. S. A.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister
of Local Government and Planning.

George Issacs (N. A. T. S. O. P. A.)--Minister of Pensions.

Ness Edwards (N. U. M.)--Postmaster-General.

T. Fraser (N. U. M.)--Under-Secretary of State for Scotland.

William Whiteley (N. U. M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Treasury.

R. J. Taylor (N. U. M.)--Lord Commissioner.

George Brown (T.G.W.U.)--Minister of Works.

Frank Collindridge (N.U.M.)--Comptroller.

Ernest Popplewell (N.U.M.)--Vice Chamberlain.

A. J. Champion (N.U.R.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

H. Neal (N.U.M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Fuel and Power.

H. B. Taylor (N.U.M.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of National Insurance.

C. J. Simmons (N.U.G.M.W.)--Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Pensions.

T. F. Cook (E.T.U.)--Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

C. R. Hobson (A.E.U.)--Assistant Postmaster-General.

W. A. Wilkins (T.A.)--Lord Commissioner.

Source:

V. L. Allen, Trade Unions and the Government (London: Longmans, 1960), pp. 292-293.

APPENDIX VI

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,

1959-1964

<u>Member</u>	<u>Union</u>
Ainsley, J. W.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Albu, A. H.	Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
Awbery, S. S.	Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Beaney, A.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Bence, C. R.	Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
Bevan, A.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Blyton, W. R.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Boardman, H.	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (U. S. D. A. W.)
Brown, George A.	Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Brown, Thomas J.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Cliffe, M.	National Union of Textile and Garment Workers (N. U. T. G. W.)
Collick, P. H.	Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (A. S. L. E. F.)
Craddock, G.	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (U. S. D. A. W.)
Davies, G. Elfed	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Davies, Stephen O.	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Deer, G.	Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Edwards, Ness	National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Edwards, Walter J.	Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Fernyhough, E.	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (U. S. D. A. W.)

Finch, J. I.
National Union of Mineworkers (N.M.U.)

- Edwards, Walter J.
Ferryhough, E.
Fluch, J. J.
Fitch, E. A.
Fraser, Thomas
Gooch, E. G.
Gourlay, H. P. H.
Grey, C. F.
Griffiths, David
Griffiths, James
Gunter, R. J.
Hewitson, M.
Hill, James M.
Hilton, A. V.
Howell, C. A.
Hunter, A. E.
Hynd, Harry
Hynd, John B.
Jeger, G.
Jones, A. Creech
Jones, Daniel
Jones, Jack H.
Kelley, R.
Key, C. W.
Lee, Frederick
Loughlin, C. W.
McCann, J.
McKay, J.
McLeavy, F.
Manuel, A. C.
Mapp, C.
Mason, Roy
Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Agricultural Workers (N. U. A. W.)
National Union of Vehicle Builders (N. U. V. B.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)
National Union of General Municipal Workers
(N. U. G. M. W.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Agricultural Workers (N. U. A. W.)
National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)
Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)
National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)
Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
British Iron Steel and Kindred Trades Association
(B. I. S. A. K. T. A.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)
Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)
Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and
Firemen (A. S. L. E. F.)
Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Member

Union

Mallish, R. J.

Transport and General Workers' Union
(T. G. W. U.)

Monslow, W.

Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers
and Firemen (A. S. L. E. F.)

Moody, A. S.

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (A. S. W.)

Mort, D. L.

British Iron Steel and Kindred Trades Association
(B. I. S. A. K. T. A.)

Moyle, A.

National Union of Public Employees (N. U. P. E.)

Mulley, F. W.

Clerical and Administrative Workers (C. A. W. U.)

Neal, H.

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Oliver, G. H.

Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)

Oswald, T.

Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)

Padley, W. E.

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)

Pannell, T. Charles

Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)

Pargiter, G. A.

Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)

Paton, J.

Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)

Pentland, N.

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Prentice, R. E.

Transport and General Workers' Union (T. G. W. U.)

Popplewell, E.

National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)

Price, J. Thomas

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)

Proctor, W. T.

National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)

Randall, H. E.

Union of Postoffice Workers (U. P. W.)

Robens, A.

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)

Roberts, Albert

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Rogers, G. H. R.

Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)

Slater, Joseph

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Small, W. W.

Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)

Smith, Ellis

United Patternmakers Association (U. P. A.)

Spriggs, L.

National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)

Steele, W.

Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)

Swain, T. H.

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Slater, Joseph
Small, W. W.
Smith, W. W.
Spriggs, L.
Steele, T.
Stones, W.
Swain, T. H.
Sylvester, G. O.
Symonds, J. B.

Taylor, H. Bernard
Thomas, Iorweth R.
Thornton, E.

Timmons, J.
Tomney, F.

Wainwright, E.
Watkins, T. E.

Wells, Percy L.

Wilkins, W. A.
Williams, D. J.
Williams, W. R.
Winterbottom, R. E.

Woof, R. E.

National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Amalgamated Engineering Union (A. E. U.)
National Union of Railwaymen (N. U. R.)
Transport Salaried Staffs Association (T. S. S. A.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of General Municipal Workers
(N. U. G. M. W.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
United Textile Factory Workers Association
(U. T. F. W. A.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of General Municipal Workers
(N. U. G. M. W.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
National Union of General Municipal Workers
(N. U. G. M. W.)
Transport and General Workers' Union
(T. G. W. U.)
Typographical Association (T. A.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)
Union of Postoffice Workers (U. P. W.)
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
(U. S. D. A. W.)
National Union of Mineworkers (N. U. M.)

Source:

Labour Party Conference, Report (1959), pp. 179-201 (Appendix X).

APPENDIX VII

TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, 1964-1966

<u>Member</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Position</u>
Frederick Peart	(N. U. G. M. W.)	Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food
Anthony Greenwood	(T. G. W. U.)	Secretary of State for the Colonial Office; later, Minister of Overseas Development
Arthur Bottomley	(N. U. P. E.)	Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations
Frederick Mulley	(C. A. W. U.)	Deputy Secretary of State and Minister of Defense for the Army; later, Minister of Aviation
George Brown	(T. G. W. U.)	First Secretary of State and Minister for Economic Affairs
Maurice Foley	(T. G. W. U.)	Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; later, the Home Office
William Rodgers	(N. U. G. M. W.)	Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
Reginald Prentice	(T. G. W. U.)	Minister of State for Education and Science

<u>Member</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Position</u>
Denis Howell	(C. A. W. U.)	Under Secretary of State for Education and Science
Walter Padley	(U. S. D. A. W.)	Minister of State for Foreign Office
Robert Mellish	(T. G. W. U.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Local Government
Ray Gunther	(T. S. S. A.)	Minister for Labor
Richard Marsh	(N. U. P. E.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labor; later, Ministry of Technology
Ernest Thornton	(U. T. F. W. A.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labor
Norman Pentland	(N. U. M.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance
Joseph Slater	(N. U. M.)	Assistant Postmaster - General
Frederick Lee	(A. E. U.)	Minister of Power
Charles Pannell	(A. E. U.)	Minister of Public Building and Works
Frank Cousins	(T. G. W. U.)	Minister of Technology
Roy Mason	(N. U. M.)	Minister of State, Board of Trade
Thomas Fraser	(N. U. M.)	Minister of Transport
George Rogers	(T. S. S. A.)	Lord Commissioner
John McCann	(A. E. U.)	Lord Commissioner
Austin Albu	(A. E. U.)	Minister of State, Department of Economic Affairs

<u>Member</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Position</u>
Charles Loughlin	(U. S. D. A. W.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health
Harold Davies	(N. U. M.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance
James Griffiths	(N. U. M.)	Secretary of State for Welsh Affairs
Harold Finch	(N. U. M.)	Under Secretary for Welsh Affairs
Charles Grey	(N. U. M.)	Comptroller for Her Majesty's Household
John Morris	(T. G. W. U.)	Parliamentary Secretary, Minister of Power; later, Minister of Transport

APPENDIX VIII

PROPORTION OF QUESTIONS ASKED OF EACH GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT BY ALL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND BY TRADE UNION SPONSORED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT DURING THE 1962-1963 SESSION

Department	All Members of Parliament N = 630			Trade Union Sponsored Members of Parliament N = 87		
	Number of Questions	Percentage of All Members' Questions	Rank	Number of Questions	Percentage of Sponsored Mem- bers' Questions	Rank
Transport	1263	8.6%	1	192	9.2%	2
Trade	1020	7.0	2	175	8.4	3
Labour	908	6.2	3	257	12.3	1
Health	899	6.2	4	130	6.2	5
Scottish	877	6.0	5	74	3.6	9
Housing	871	6.0	6	113	5.4	7
Foreign Office	858	5.9	7	48	2.3	19
(Lord Privy Seal)						
Prime Minister	843	5.8	8	52	2.5	16
Treasury	789	5.4	9	101	4.8	8
Education	653	4.4	10	72	3.5	11
Home	622	4.3	11	61	2.9	13
Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	559	3.8	12	52	2.5	16
Postoffice	520	3.6	13	149	7.1	4
Colonies	504	3.5	14	41	2.0	21
Science	489	3.3	15	17	1.6	21
Supply	467	3.2	16	11	1.2	21
War Office	462	3.1	17	48	2.3	20
Pensions	397	2.1	18	48	2.3	20

and Food Post Office Colonies	559 529 504	3.8 3.2 3.2	12 13 14	152 141	2.5 2.1 2.1	16 17 18	6
Science	480	3.3	15	117	5.6	19	21
Admiralty	462	3.2	16	31	1.5	20	20
War Office	361	2.5	17	45	2.2	21	12
Pensions	307	2.1	18	69	3.3	22	14
Aviation	304	2.1	19	59	2.8	23	10
Power	292	2.0	20	75	3.6	24	23
Public Buildings	264	1.8	21	29	1.4	25	17
Defence	256	1.8	22	50	2.4	26	19
Air	188	1.3	23	48	2.3	27	24
First Secretary of State	148	1.0	24	20	1.0	28	27
Commonwealth	125	0.8	25	02	0.1	29	26
Technical Co-operation	121	0.8	26	10	0.5	30	25
Attorney General	72	0.5	27	11	0.5		29
Without Portfolio	21	0.1	28	--	--		29
Ducky of Lancaster	16	0.1	29	--	--		28
Kitchen Committee	06	0.04	30	01	0.05		
	14608	100.00%		2084	100.00%		

In 1962-1963, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home was in the House of Lords. Questions in the House of Commons were answered by the Lord Privy Seal. See Great Britain, House of Commons, Debates (1959-1960), Vol. 627, col. 199 (July 28, 1960).

APPENDIX IX

INDEX CONSTRUCTION AND SAMPLE COMPOSITION

Index Construction

Questions. --The first type of activity to which we devote our attention is the Question Hour and the Questions which fill it. The Question Hour is one of the highlights of the parliamentary day.¹ The general importance ascribed to Questions is indicated by the fact that they are second only to Debate in the amount of space occupied in the published Parliamentary Debates. In analyzing Questions, it is important to subdivide them into the three different categories used in the House of Commons. The three categories are: 1) Oral Questions; 2) Supplementary Questions; and 3) Written Questions. Slightly different purposes are served by each.

¹Questions have been the subject of three extended studies: P. Howath, Questions in the House (London: The Bodley Head, 1956) studies the historical development of the Question Hour up to the end of the nineteenth century. D. N. Chester and Nona Bowring, Questions in Parliament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), deals with the contemporary Question Hour in a comprehensive fashion. Robert Winslow McCulloch, Parliamentary Control: Question Hour in the English House of Commons (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Publication Number 11, 127), is a useful comparative study of Britain, the French Third Republic, and Weimar Germany.

The Oral Questions are those put down on the agenda of the House of Commons by Private Members in advance of the date on which an answer is expected. They are addressed to the relevant Minister and he must be prepared to answer them on the appointed day. Oral Questions are more frequently asked by Opposition Members.² The Questions themselves may be simple requests for information, complaints about specific acts of the Government, or general attacks on the Government's policy.

Supplementary Questions result from the answer made by the Minister to an Oral Question. The Member asking the original Question is customarily permitted to ask one further question following the Minister's reply. Other Members, especially the Opposition Frontbench will also be active in seeking to ask Supplementaries.³ The Minister receives no advance notice of such Supplementary Questions and must be well briefed on the subject if he is to be able to answer them. Frequently, especially when asked by Opposition Frontbenchers, the Supplementary Questions will constitute a major attack on the Government's policy.

Of the three categories, the third one, Written Questions, is probably the least important. There are fewer of them asked. They receive far less publicity than the other categories of Questions. For

²Chester and Bowring, p. 196.

³Ibid., p. 219.

the most part, they seem to be little more than requests for information. Of course, this does not mean that they might not be used as a basis for attacking Government.⁴

The indices. --The indices used in measuring quantitative participation in the Question Hour are based simply on the number of each type of Questions asked by each Member. This frequency was determined by an actual count of the Questions as they appear in the pages of Hansard.⁵ We determined these totals for the first, second, and fourth sessions of the 1959-1964 Parliament. These sessional totals were then combined to provide a single total for each Question category. The total number of each type of Questions for three sessions are the figures used in the analysis.

Standing Committees. --The second type of legislative activity which drew our attention were the Standing Committees of the House of Commons.⁶ These Committees are composed of some 25 to 50 Members who consider the details of Public Bills of intermediate importance, i. e., those Public Bills not considered in detail by the entire House of Commons sitting as a Committee of the Whole. The

⁴For example, see above, pp.

⁵This technique is used by Chester and Bowring, pp. 192-199; and Robert Winslow McCulloch, "Question Time in the British House of Commons," American Political Science Review, XXVII (1933), pp. 971-975.

⁶The Standing Committees of the House of Commons have received little attention, but see the chapter on legislative committees in K. C. Wheare, Government by Committee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 119-162.

Standing Committees are powerless to change the general provisions of a Bill, but they may amend it in detail. The Committees are organized as miniature House of Commons, but with less party discipline.

In measuring activity on these Committees, we utilized two different (but related) indicators. The first is the record of the number of committee meetings to which a Member is "summoned" or called. The second is the record of the number of committee meetings which the Member actually attended.⁷ The total number of summons and attendances for all five sessions of the 1959-1964 Parliament were used in these two indices.

The exact relationship among these two indices is not clear. Both are measures of a Member's interest in a subject since Members are generally only summoned to a Standing Committee when it is considering a Bill of interest to them. The actual attendance figure might indicate a higher interest in the subject, but it might also indicate nothing more than a Member's sense of responsibility in carrying out his parliamentary duties. Despite the very high correlation between the two indices, we included both in the following analysis.

Debate. -- The third type of activity which attracts our attention is Debate. The House of Commons is, above all else, a debating chamber. It is through Debate that the nation is kept informed of the views of the major parties on current political issues. It is through

⁷Cf. Bernard Crick, The Reform of Parliament (London: Weiden-Fild and Nicolson, 1964), pp. 82-85.

Debate that the nation is kept informed of the views of the major parties on current political issues. It is through debate that differences within the parties are frequently brought to light. Measuring Debate is a most difficult problem which has no simple answer. For our purposes, we have measured the length of the index entry headed "Debate" under a Member's name in the sessional index to the Parliamentary Debates.⁸ By combining these totals for the first four sessions of the 1959-1964 Parliament, we found the figure for Debate used in the following analysis:

The indices developed for each type of sub-type of parliamentary activity are nothing more than quantitative measure of individual participation. They tell us nothing about the quality or lack of quality associated with participation. This limitation must be kept in mind at all times.

⁸We have borrowed this technique from Peter G. Richards, Honorable Members, (Second edition; London: Faber and Faber, 1964), pp. 79-82. Based on his analysis of the 1953-1954 session of Parliament, Richards concludes that ". . . party leaders do not smile on those who intervene frequently in debate, and few government backbenchers who became Ministers in later years had an entry of much more than half a column." Ibid., p. 82.

Richards' use of this technique has been criticized for its failure to recognize qualitative aspects of debate. See Eric Nordlinger, "Leading from Behind," New Society (May 21, 1964), p. 26. Cf. Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan: A Biography (London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1961), p. 146.

Since we have already measured activity in the Question Hour, Richards' technique has been modified to the extent of only using that portion of the index entry headed "Debate" and measuring it in centimeters rather than fractional columns.

A not totally dissimilar index of activity in an eighteenth century parliament is found in Peter D. G. Thomas, "Checklist of M.P.s Speaking in the House of Commons, 1768-1774," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXV, No. 92 (November, 1962), pp. 220-226.

Sample composition

For the varieties of each type of behavior, we measured the participation by the individuals included in each of three groups of Members of Parliament. The first group used in this analysis were 87 trade union sponsored Members. There were originally 93 trade unionists elected to the House of Commons in 1959, but six of them died or resigned from Parliament before the summer of 1964. In order to facilitate the analysis, these six were excluded from all calculations. The other two groups are composed of: 1) non-trade union sponsored Labor Members of Parliament (referred to as other Labor), and 2) Conservative Backbenchers. These two groups were selected out in one operation and then divided on the basis of their party affiliation. They were not drawn from the entire House of Commons.

The population from which they were drawn is defined as follows: Beginning with the 630 Members of Parliament elected in 1959, we excluded the following groups: 1) 93 trade union sponsored Members; 2) 28 Members who died between 1959 and 1964; 3) 34 Members who resigned from Parliament between 1959 and 1964 (including those who moved up to the House of Lords; 4) 112 Members who served in the Government at any time between 1959 and 1964; 5) 4 Members who were officers of the House of Commons. Allowing for overlapping among these groups, their exclusion left us with a population of 388 Members of Parliament. From it we drew every fifth Member to be a part of

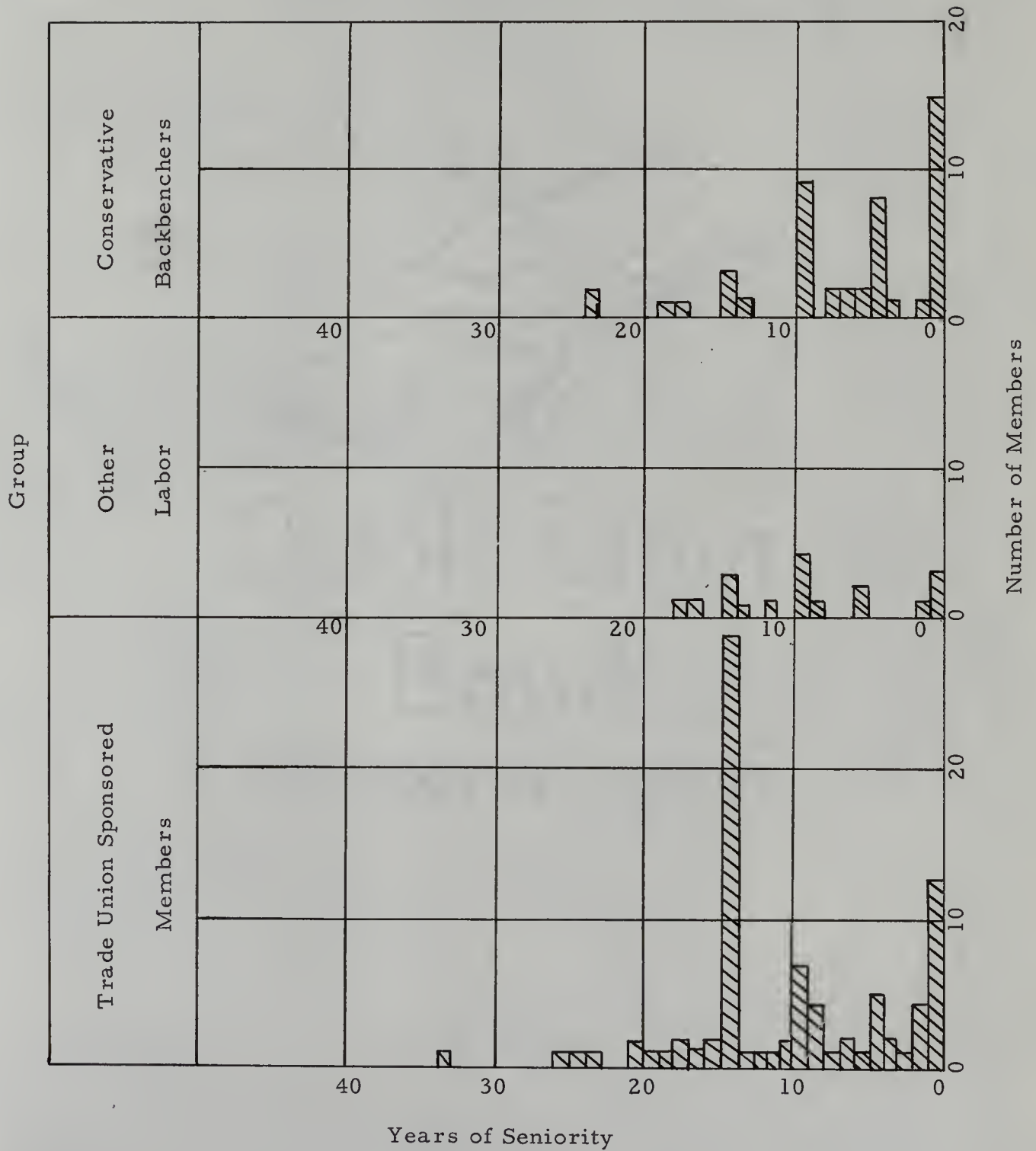
our sample. This sample was then divided on the basis of party affiliation as follows:

TABLE 33
SAMPLE COMPOSITION BY PARTY

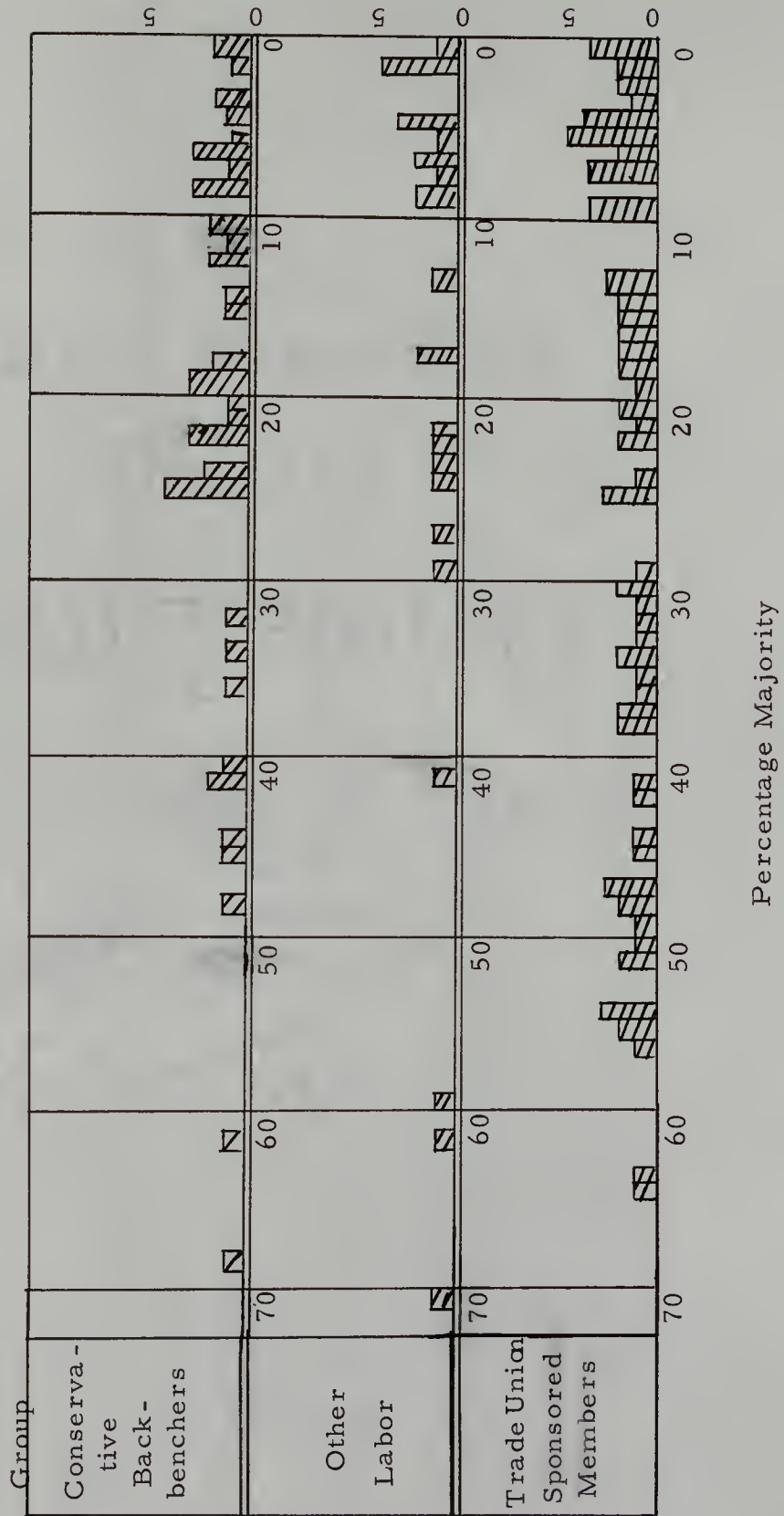
Conservative backbenchers	48
Non-trade union Labor	27
Liberal	1
Other	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	77

To further simplify the analysis, we excluded the one Liberal and a Member, Alan Brown, who changed party affiliation from Labor to Conservative during the Parliament from our final groups. These groups of non-trade union sponsored Labor Members and Conservative backbenchers were used along with the trade union sponsored Members in the analysis in the second half of Chapter VI. Because of the procedures used in determining these groups, it is almost impossible to extend any conclusions about them to the universe of all Members of Parliament.

APPENDIX X
DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO SENIORITY
FOR ALL THREE GROUPS



APPENDIX XI DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE MAJORITY OF ALL THREE GROUPS



APPENDIX XII

CORRELATION OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR AND SENIORITY

BY GROUP

Type of Legislative Behavior		GROUP				
		Opposition			Government Conservative Backbenchers N = 48	Government and Opposition Combined N = 162
		Trade Unionists N = 87	Other Labor N = 27	Total Opposition N = 114		
Questions	Oral	1	2	3	4	5
		-.164	-.126	-.146	.048	-.054
		-.027	-.017	-.019	.140	.068
	Written	-.108	-.518	-.195	-.139	-.146
Standing Com- mittees	Summones	-.317	-.308	-.313	-.304	-.315
	Attendances	-.288	-.225	.276	-.415	-.314
Debate		-.023	-.256	-.070	-.049	-.020
Coefficient of correlation must equal the following values for each N to be statistically significant at the 5% level.		.212	.381 = P > .05	.186	.287	.159

APPENDIX XIII

CORRELATION OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR AND MAJORITY (%) BY GROUP

Type of Legislative Behavior	GROUP					
	Opposition			Government	Government and Opposition Combined N = 162	
	Trade Unionists N = 87	Other Labor N = 27	Total Opposition N = 114	Conservative Backbenchers N = 48		
	1	2	3	4	5	
Questions	Oral	-. 145	. 043	-. 114	-. 212	-. 122
	Supplementary	-. 128	-. 065	-. 141	-. 182	-. 129
	Written	. 099	-. 064	. 019	-. 135	. 000
	Summones	-. 137	. 013	-. 105	-. 358	-. 171
Standing Com - mittees	Attendances	-. 154	-. 013	-. 130	-. 377	-. 192
	Debate	-. 175	-. 320	-. 240	-. 135	-. 210
Coefficient of correlation must equal the following values for each N to be statistically significant at the 5% level.						
		. 212	. 381	. 186	. 287	. 159
= P > .05						

APPENDIX XIV

UNION ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BODY OF STUDY

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Union</u>
N. U. M.	National Union of Mineworkers
A. E. U.	Amalgamated Engineering Union
T. G. W. U.	Transport and General Workers Union
U. S. D. A. W.	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
N. U. T. G. W.	National Union of Textile and Garment Workers
A. S. L. E. F.	Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen
N. U. A. W.	National Union of Agricultural Workers
N. U. V. B.	National Union of Vehicle Builders
T. S. S. A.	Transport Salaried Staffs Association
N. U. G. M. W.	National Union of General and Municipal Workers
B. I. S. A. K. T. A.	British Iron Steel and Kindred Trades Association
A. S. W.	Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers
N. U. P. E.	National Union of Public Employees
N. U. R.	National Union of Railwaymen

AbbreviationUnion

U. P. W.

Union of Postoffice Workers

U. P. A.

United Patternmakers Association

U. T. F. W. A.

United Textile Factory Workers
Association

T. A.

Typographical Association

APPENDIX XV
LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR BY GROUP MEANS

Behavior Index	Type of Legislative Behavior	Groups	
		Conservative Backbenchers (N = 48)	All Labor and Conservatives in Population (N = 468)
Number of Questions per Member of Each Group (Three Session Total)	Oral Questions	29.0	41.9
	Supplementary Questions	19.2	35.4
	Written Questions	13.2	19.2
	Summons	61.8	59.1
Frequency of Standing Committee Activity per Member of Each Group (Five Session Total)	Attendance	44.2	42.8
	Debate	120.4	167.4
Length of Index Entry per Member of Each Group (Four Session Total)			

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government Publications and Documents

Great Britain. House of Commons. Debates (1930-1931), (1946-1947), (1953-1954), (1959-1964).

Great Britain. House of Commons. Returns of Select Committees (1959-1964) (mimeographed).

Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers (1943-1944). Accounts and Papers 84. Report from the Committee of Privileges.

Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers (1946-1947). Accounts and Papers 118. Report from the Committee on Privileges.

Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers (1959-1964). Accounts and Papers. Return of Standing Committees (annual).

Labour Party Publications

Constitution and Standing Orders. London: Labour Party, 1960.

Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on Party Organization. (Wilson Report). Labour Party, 1955.

Labour Organizer, XXXII (January, 1954) - XLIII (July, 1964).

Labour Party Conference. Reports (1959-1964).

Parliamentary Labour Party, Trade Union Group. Reports. (1957-1958) (1959-1964).

Trade Union Publications

Amalgamated Engineering Union. Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (April, 1957); XXVI, No. 10 (October, 1959)--XXVII, No. 12 (December, 1960); XXXI, No. 1 (January, 1964)--No. 6 (June, 1964).

Amalgamated Engineering Union. Reports of Proceedings of the National Committee (1959-1964).

Amalgamated Engineering Union. Rules: Parts 1 and 1a (1960).

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. Annual Reports (1958-1963).

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. Conference Reports (1959-1964).

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. Rules (1958).

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. Rules (1964).

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. The Woodworkers Journal (1959-1964).

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Annual Reports and Balance Sheets (1959-1962).

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Locomotive Journal, LXXII, No. 1 (January, 1959)--LXXVII, No. 6 (June, 1964).

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Rules (Revised Edition, 1961).

Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union. Annual Reports and Balance Sheets (1959-1962).

Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union. Rules (Revised, 1959).

Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. Man and Metal, XXXVI, No. 1 (January, 1959)--XLI, No. 7 (July, 1964).

National Graphics Association. Graphical Journal, I, No. 1 (January, 1964, 1964)--No. 8 (August, 1964). (Successor to Typographical Circular.)

National Union of Agricultural Workers. Annual Reports and Balance Sheets (1959-1963).

National Union of Agricultural Workers. The Land Worker, XL (1959) - XLV (1964).

National Union of General Municipal Workers. Annual Reports of Congress (1959-1962).

National Union of General and Municipal Workers. National Union of General and Municipal Workers Journal, XXII (1959) - XXVII (1964).

National Union of Mineworkers. Information Bulletin, XIV, Nos. 10 and 11 (October/November, 1959) - XIX, Nos. 5 and 6 (May/June, 1964).

National Union of Mineworkers. Report of the National Executive Committee (1964).

National Union of Public Employees. Conference Reports (Abridged) (1959, 1961, and 1963).

National Union of Public Employees. Public Employees Journal (January-February, 1959) - (November-December, 1961); (January-February, 1963) - (July-August, 1964).

National Union of Public Employees. Reports of the Executive Council (1959, 1961, and 1963).

National Union of Railwaymen. Annual General Meetings. Agenda (1959-1964).

_____. Proceedings (1959-1964).

National Union of Railwaymen. Proceedings and Reports (1960-1963).

National Union of Railwaymen. Railway Review (January, 1959 - December, 1959; January, 1964 - June, 1964).

National Union of Railwaymen. Rules (Revised Edition, 1957).

National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers. The Garment Worker, XXVIII, No. 5 (January, 1959) - XXXIII, No. 7 (July, 1964).

National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers. Rules (1963).

National Union of Vehicle Builders. Quarterly Journal, No. 172 (January, 1959) - No. 194 (July, 1964).

- Railway Clerks Association. Reports of Committee of Inquiry Regarding Parliamentary Constitutions and Associated Questions (1924).
- Trades Union Congress. Report (1869).
- Transport and General Workers' Union. Annual Report (1960).
- Transport and General Workers' Union. Minutes and Record of the Proceedings of the Biennial Delegate Conferences (1957, 1959, 1961, and 1963).
- Transport and General Workers' Union. Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XXXIX (October, 1959) - XLIV (July, 1964).
- Transport and General Workers' Union. Reports and Balance Sheets (1958-1963).
- Transport Salaried Staffs' Association. Annual Reports (1959, 1961-1963).
- Transport Salaried Staffs' Association. Minutes of the Annual Delegate Conferences (1959-1963).
- Transport Salaried Staffs' Association. Rules (Revised Edition, 1963).
- Transport Salaried Staffs Association. Transport Journal, LVI (January, 1959) - LXI (June, 1964).
- Typographical Association. Amalgamation Proposals (June, 1963).
- Typographical Association. Delegate Meeting Supplement (1963).
- Typographical Association. Half-Yearly Reports, No. 221 (March 30, 1959 - September 26, 1959) to No. 229 (April 1, 1963 - September 28, 1963).
- Typographical Association. Report of the Delegates Meeting (1953).
- Typographical Association. Typographical Circular, No. 1, 274 (January, 1959) - No. 1, 332 (November-December, 1963).
- Union of Postoffice Workers. Annual Conference Reports (1961-1964).
- Union of Postoffice Workers. The Post, LXIV (1959) - LXIX (1964).
- Union of Postoffice Workers. Research Department. "Advantages of Direct Parliamentary Representation" (July 2, 1943) (Typed).

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. Annual Reports
(1959-1963).

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. The New Dawn,
XII, No. 20 (October 3, 1959) - XVIII, No. 13 (June 15, 1964).

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. Reports of the Annual
Delegate Meetings (1959-1963).

Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. Statements of Accounts
and Balance Sheets (1960-1963).

United Patternmakers Association. Monthly Report (January, 1959) -
(July, 1964).

Newspapers

Labor Party Newspaper Clipping Files (London: Transport House).

The Times. (London) passim.

Interviews

Ainsley, J. W., M.P. June 23, 1964.

Awbery, Stanley, M.P. June 30, 1964.

Barlow, Frank, Secretary, Parliamentary Labor Party. July 29, 1964.

Biswas, Mary (Miss), Assistant Political Officer, Transport and
General Workers' Union. August 19, 1964.

Blyton, William, M.P. July 21, 1964.

Brown, T. J., M.P. July 14, 1964.

Bray, Jermy (Dr.), M.P. July 27, 1964.

Bucton, R. W, Assistant General Secretary, Associated Society of
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. August 15, 1964.

Chapman, Henry G., General Secretary, Clerical and Administrative
Workers Union. August 26, 1964.

Conway, James, Assistant General Secretary, Amalgamated Engineering Union. August 5, 1964.

Corfield, Anthony, Political Officer, Transport and General Workers' Union. August 18, 1964.

Deer, George, M.P. July 21, 1964.

Edwards, Ness, M.P. June 25, 1964.

Fernyhough, E., M.P. June 29, 1964.

Fitch, E. A., M.P. July 22, 1964.

Fraser, Tom, M.P. July 16, 1964.

Gourley, H.P.H., M.P. July 28, 1964.

Griffiths, James, M.P. August 5, 1964.

Gunter, R., M.P. July 9, 1964.

Hammett, Cyril, Chief Administrative Officer, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. August 10, 1964.

Hardcastle, C., Research Officer, National Union of Postoffice Workers. August 25, 1964.

Hedges, K.F.C., Political Officer, Transport Salaried Staffs' Association. August 31, 1964.

Hill, Sydney, General Secretary, National Union of Public Employees. August 26, 1964.

Hilton, A.V., M.P. July 30, 1964.

Howell, Charles, M.P. July 29, 1964.

Hudson, D. F., Research Officer, National Union of Agricultural Workers. August 20, 1964.

Jones, Daniel, M.P. July 23, 1964.

Kissler, A., Research Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers. August 8, 1964.

Lee, Fred, M.P. June 30, 1964.

Loughlin, Charles, M. P. July 14 and 22, 1964.

Mapp, C., M. P. July 28, 1964.

Marsh, Richard, M. P. July 6, 1964.

Mason, Roy, M. P. July 23, 1964.

Monslow, W., M. P. July 23, 1964.

Morgan, D., Assistant Private Secretary to the General Secretary,
National Union of Railwaymen. August 19, 1964.

Moyle, A., M. P. August 18, 1964.

Mulley, Fred, M. P. July 27, 1964.

McCann, Jack, M. P. July 8, 1964.

McLeavy, Frank, M. P. July 22, 1964.

Pannell, Charles, M. P. July 6, 1964.

Prentice, Reginald, M. P. July 27, 1964.

Roberts, A., M. P. July 28, 1964.

Roberts, H. R., Political Officer, National Union of General and
Municipal Workers. August 27, 1964.

Rogers, G. H. R., M. P. July 28, 1964.

Sales, E., Personal Secretary, Union of Postoffice Workers' General
Secretary. August 25, 1964.

Small, W. W., M. P. July 29, 1964.

Short, Edward, M. P. July 29, 1964.

Taylor, Bernard, M. P. July 16, 1964.

Tritton, W., Research Officer, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.
August 12, 1964.

Wainwright, E., M. P. July 16, 1964.

Wilkins, W. A., M. P. July 23, 1964.

Correspondence

Awbery, Stanley, M.P. June 25, 1964.

Beard, W. B., General Secretary, United Patternmakers Association.
August 5, 1964 and August 11, 1964.

Francis, D., Secretary, South Wales Area, National Union of Mine-
workers. August 18, 1964.

Fraser, Tom, M.P. August 16, 1964.

Douglas, H., General Secretary, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.
August 26, 1964.

Main, R., Secretary, Northcumberland Area, National Union of
Mineworkers. August 17, 1964.

Morten, A., Secretary, Nottingham Area, National Union of Mine-
workers. August 18, 1964.

Milhench, J., Secretary, United Textile Factory Workers' Association.
August 14, 1964.

O'Hagan, J., General Secretary, National Union of Blastfurnacemen,
Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades. August 15, 1964.

Paynter, Will., General Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers.
August 7 and 12, 1964.

Ratcliffe, Hardie, General Secretary, Musicians Union. August 6 and
14, 1964.

Schofield, S., Secretary, Yorkshire Area, National Union of Mineworkers.
August 14 and 26, 1964.

Simmons, F., General President, National Graphical Association.
August 17, 1964.

Wood, John, Secretary, Scottish Area, National Union of Mineworkers.
August 14, 1964.

Wynn, H. W., Secretary, Derbyshire Area, National Union of Mine-
workers. August 17, 1964.

Miscellaneous

Campaign for Democratic Socialism. Campaign, No. 1 (January, 1961) - No. 22 (December, 1962).

Gallup Poll. Trade Unions and the Public in 1964 (1964).

Marsh, Richard. "The Trade Union Movement and the Parliamentary Labour Party," London: The Fabian Society, n.d. (mimeographed).

Marsh, Richard. "The P. L. P. and the Trade Unions," revised copy, London: The Fabian Society, 1963 (mimeographed).

Roberts, H. R. "The Union's Political Representation" (mimeographed).

Social Surveys. Gallup Poll on the Trade Unions (1959).

The Times Guide to the House of Commons, London: The Times Publishing Company, 1964.

Books

Allen, V. L. Trade Unions and the Government. London: Longmans, Green, 1960.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Coleman, James S. (eds.). The Politics of Developing Areas. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.

Amery, L. S. My Political Life. Three volumes. London: Hutchinson, 1953.

Arch, Joseph. The Story of His Life, Told by Himself. Edited by the Countess of Warwick. Second edition. London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.

Arnot, R. Page. A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. Three Volumes. London: Allen and Unwin, 1949-1961.

The Earl of Oxford and Asquith (H. H. Asquith). Fifty Years of British Parliament. Two Volumes. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926.

Attlee, C. As It Happened. London: Heinemann, 1954.

Attlee, Clement R. The Labour Party in Perspective and Twelve Years Later. London: V. Gollanz, 1949.

- Bagwell, Philip S. The Railwaymen. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963.
- Barnes, George N. From Workshop to War Cabinet. London: Macmillan, 1958.
- Bassett, Reginald. Nineteen Thirty-one, Political Crisis. London: Macmillan, 1958.
- Bealey, F. and Pelling, H. Labour and Politics, 1900-1906. London: Macmillan, 1958.
- Beer, Samuel H. British Politics in the Collectivist Age. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- Bevan, A. In Place of Fear. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952.
- Birch, A. H. Representative and Responsible Government. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964.
- Blythe, Ronald. The Age of Illusion. London: Penguin Books, 1964.
- Broadhurst, H. H. Broadhurst, M. P.; The Story of His Life: From a Stone Mason's Bench to the Treasury Bench. Second edition. London: Hutchinson, 1901.
- Brockway, Fenner. Inside the Left. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1942.
- Brown, W. J. So Far London: George Allen and Unwin, 1943.
- Bullock, Alan. The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin. Vol. I: Trade Union Leader, 1881-1940. London: Heinemann, 1960.
- Chamberlain, Sir Austin. Politics From Inside. London: Cassell, 1936.
- Chester, D. N. and Bowring, Nona. Questions in Parliament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Citrine, W. Men and Work. London: Hutchinson, 1964.
- Clegg, H. A. General Union: A Study of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. Oxford: Blackwell, 1954.
- Clegg, H. A. General Union in a Changing Society. Oxford: Blackwell, 1964.

- Clegg, H. A., Fox, Alan, and Thompson, A. F. A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889. Vol. I: 1889-1910. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Cline, Catherine Ann. Recruits to Labour: The British Labour Party, 1914-1931. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963.
- Clynes, John Robert. Memoirs. Two Volumes. London: Hutchinson, 1937.
- Cole, G. D. H. British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914. London: Routledge, 1941.
- Cole, G. D. H. A History of the Labour Party from 1914. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948.
- Cole, G. D. H. and Postgate, Raymond. The Common People, 1746-1946. Second Edition. London: Methuen, 1961.
- Cole, Margaret I. (ed.). Beatrice Webb's Dairies, 1912-1924. London: Longmans, Green, 1952.
- Cole, Margaret I. (ed.). Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-1932. London: Longmans, Green, 1956.
- Connelly, T. J. The Woodworkers, 1850-1960. London: Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, 1960.
- Cooke, Colin. The Life of Richard Stafford Cripps. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957.
- Crick, Bernard. The Reform of Parliament. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1964.
- Cyriax, George and Oakeshott, R. The Bargainers: A Survey of Modern British Trade Unionism. New York: Praeger, 1961.
- Dalton, Hugh. Memoirs. Three Volumes. London: Muller, 1953-1962.
- Easton, David. A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: John Wiley, 1965.
- Eckstein, Harry. Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960.
- Edelman, Murray. The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.

- Edwards, George. From Crow Scaring to Westminster. London: Labour Publishing Co., 1922.
- Edwards, Ness. The History of the South Wales Miners' Federation. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1938.
- Ferguson, George A. Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959.
- Finer, S. E., Berrington, H. B., and Barthalomew, D. J. Backbench Opinion in the House of Commons, 1955-1959. New York: Pergamon Press, 1961.
- Foot, Michael. Aneurin Bevan: A Biography. London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1962.
- Fox, A. A History of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 1874-1957. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958.
- Graves, Robert and Hodge, Alan. The Long Weekend: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939. Second edition. New York: W. W. Norton, The Norton Library, 1963.
- Griffin, Alan R. The Miners of Nottinghamshire, 1914-1944. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- Gulley, Elsie Elizabeth. Joseph Chamberlain and English Social Politics. New York: Columbia University, 1926.
- Guttsman, W. L. The British Political Elite. London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1963.
- Gwyn, William B. Democracy and the Cost of Politics in Britain. London: The Athlone Press, 1962.
- Hare, A. Paul. Handbook of Small Group Research. New York: The Free Press, 1962.
- Harrison, Martin. Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960.
- Hanham, H. J. Elections and Party Management. London: Longmans, Green, 1959.
- Haw, George. From Workhouse to Westminster. London: Cassell, 1907.
- Herbert, A. P. Independent Member. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1950.

- Hodge, John. Workman's Cottage to Windsor Castle. London: Sampson Low and Co., 1931.
- Horner, Arthur. Incorrigible Rebel. London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1960.
- Howarth, P. Questions in the House. London: The Bodley Head, 1956.
- Howard, Anthony, and Richard West. The Making of the Prime Minister. London: Jonathan Cape, 1965.
- Howell, George. Conflicts of Capital and Labour. Second edition. London: Macmillan, 1890.
- Howell, George. Labour Legislation, Labour Movements, and Labour Leaders. Two Volumes. Second edition. London: T. F. Unwin, 1905.
- Hughes, John. Change in the Trade Unions. London: The Fabian Society, 1964.
- Humphrey, A. W. A History of Labour Representation. London: Constable, 1913.
- Jarman, T. L. A Short History of 20th Century England: 1868-1962. New York: New American Library (Mentor Books), 1963.
- Jenkins, Roy. Sir Charles Dilke. London: Collins, 1958.
- Jenkins, R. Mr. Attlee. London: Heinemann, 1948.
- Jennings, W. Ivor. Parliament. First edition. Cambridge: University Press, 1939.
- Johnston, James. A Hundred Commoners. London: Herbert Joseph, 1931.
- Junz, Alfred J. The Student Guide to Parliament. London: Hansard Society, 1960.
- Kaplan, Abraham. The Conduct of Inquiry. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964.
- Krug, Mark M. Aneurin Bevan: Cautious Rebel. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961.
- Lawson, Jack. A Man's Life. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932.

- Leonard, R. L. Guide to the General Election. London: Pan Books, 1964.
- Lowe, David. From Pit to Parliament. London: The Labour Publishing Co., 1923.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence. The Influence of Party Upon Legislation in England and America. Washington: American Historical Association Annual Report, 1902.
- Lyman, R. W. The First Labour Government, 1924. London: Chapman and Hall, 1957.
- Magee, Bryan. The New Radicalism. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963.
- Mann, Tom. Memoirs. London: Labour Publishing Co., 1923.
- Matthews, Donald S. The Social Background of Political Decision Makers. New York: Random House, 1955.
- Money Penny, W. F. and Buckle, G. E. The Life of Benjamin Disraeli. New edition in two volumes. London: Johny Murry, 1929.
- Morrison, Herbert. Herbert Morrison; An Autobiography. London: Odhams Press, 1960.
- Mulley, F. The Politics of Western Defense. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- McCallum, R. B., and Readman, A. The British General Election of 1945. London: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- McCulloch, Robert Winslow. Parliamentary Control: Question Hour in the English House of Commons. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms. n.d. Publication No. 11, 127.
- McHenry, D. E. The Labour Party in Transition, 1931-1938. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1938.
- McKenzie, R. T. British Political Parties. Second edition. New York: Praeger, 1963.
- McKillop, Norman. The Lighted Flame. London: Thomas Nelson, 1950.
- Mackintosh, John P. The British Cabinet. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.

- Ostrogorski, M. Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties. Vol. I: England. Edited by S. M. Lipset. New York: Anchor Doubleday Books, 1964.
- PEP. Advisory Committees in British Government. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960.
- Pelling, Henry. A History of British Trade Unionism. London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Pelling, Henry. The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900. London: Macmillan, 1954.
- Pelling, Henry. A Short History of the Labour Party. London: Macmillan, 1962.
- Potter, Allen. Organized Groups in British National Politics. London: Faber and Faber, 1961.
- Pritt, D. N. The Labour Government, 1945-51. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1963.
- Pugh, Sir Arthur. Men of Steel. London: The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 1951.
- Ranney, Austin. Pathways to Parliament. Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.
- Reid, J. H. Stewart. The Origins of the British Labour Party. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.
- Richards, Peter G. Honorable Members. Second edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
- Rose, Richard. Politics in England. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964.
- Ross, J. F. S. Parliamentary Representation. Second, enlarged edition. London: Eyre and Spotsewood, 1948.
- Roth, Andrew. The Business Background of Members of Parliament. London: Parliamentary Profiles, 1963.
- Schubert, Glendon. The Public Interest. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960.
- Sexton, Sir James. Agitator: The Life of the Dockers' M. P. London: Faber and Faber, 1936.

- Shanks, Michael. The Stagnant Society. London: Penguin, 1961.
- Viscount Simon (John Allsebrook). Retrospect. London: Hutchinson, 1952.
- Smellie, K. B., Great Britain Since 1688: A Modern History. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- Smillie, Robert. My Life for Labour. London: Mill and Boon, 1924.
- Snowden, Philip. An Autobiography. Two Volumes. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd., 1934.
- Spencer, J. A. and Asquith, Cyril. Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith. Two Volumes. London: Hutchinson and Company, 1932.
- Spoor, Alex. "Fifty Proud Years": A Short History of the Association. London: National and Local Government Officers Association, 1955.
- Stewart, J. D. British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Strauss, Patricia. Bevin and Company. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941.
- Symons, Julian. The General Strike. London: The Cresset Press, 1957.
- Taylor, Eric. The House of Commons at Work. Fifth revised edition. London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Thomas, J. H. My Story. London: Hutchinson, 1937.
- Thorne, Will. My Life's Battle. London: George Newnes, 1925.
- Tillett, Ben. Memories and Reflections. London: J. Long, 1931.
- Tracey, H. (ed.). The Book of the Labour Party. London: Caxton Publishing Company, 1925.
- Turner, Ben. About Myself. London: Humphrey Toulmin, 1930.
- Vernon, R. V., and Mansergh, N. (eds.). Advisory Bodies: A Study of their Uses in Relation to Central Government, 1919-1939. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1940.

- Wahlke, J. C., et al. The Legislative System. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962.
- Watson, Aaron. A great Labour Leader, Being the Life of the Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M. P. London: Brown, Langham, 1908.
- Weaver, J. R. H. (ed.). Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. The History of Trade Unionism. New edition. London: Longmans, Green, 1920.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. Industrial Democracy. New edition. London: Longmans, Green, 1911.
- Wheare, K. C. Government by Committee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Wigham, Eric. What's Wrong with the Unions? Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961.
- Williams, Francis. Ernest Bevin. London: Hutchinson, 1952.
- Williams, Francis. Fifty Years March. London: Odhams Press, 1950.
- Williams, Francis. Magnificent Journey. London: Odhams Press, 1954.
- Williams, Francis. A Prime Minister Remembers. London: Heinemann, 1961.
- Williams, J. E. The Derbyshire Miners. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- Wilson, John. Memories of a Labour Leader. London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1910.
- Young, G. M. Stanley Baldwin. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952.

Articles

- Albu, Austin. "Beneath Big Ben," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXVII, No. 7 (July, 1960), p. 207.
- Alderman, R. K. "Discipline in the Parliamentary Labor Party, 1945-1951," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1965), pp. 293-306.

- Allen, V. L. "The Reorganization of the Trades Union Congress," British Journal of Sociology, XI (1960), pp. 35-41.
- Allen, V. L. "The Ethics of Trade Union Leaders," British Journal of Sociology, VII (1956), pp. 314-336.
- Beloff, Nora. "Blunder, Brilliance and Bounce," The Observer (London), May 16, 1965, p. 11.
- Boyd, Francis. "How Labour was Saved in 1951," The Guardian (London), July 1, 1964, p. 10.
- Boyd, John M. "Ray Gunter's Errors," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXXI, No. 5 (May, 1964), p. 158.
- Boyne, H. B. "That Ticket to Westminster," Daily Telegraph (London), July 18, 1957.
- "Brothers In Conference," The Economist (July 15, 1961), p. 236.
- Burns, J. M. "The Parliamentary Labour Party in Great Britain," American Political Science Review, XLIV (1950), pp. 855-871.
- "Cabman's Deputation to Westminster," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XLI (January, 1961), pp. 40-41.
- Cole, J. "Mr. Brown's Challenge to Mr. Cousins," Guardian (London), July 10, 1961, p. 16.
- Cole, John. "Mr. Cousins Holds Transport Union to Unilateralism," Guardian (London), July 14, 1961.
- Corfield, Tony, "Fashioning the World of Tomorrow: Report on the Labour Party in Conference, 1960," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XL (November, 1960), 34-37.
- Coulter, Ian. "Toe Cousin's Line 'Move on M. P. s'," Sunday Times (London), May 7, 1961.
- Cross-Bencher. "The Death of a Hero," Sunday Express (London), June 7, 1959.
- Cyriax, G. "Labour and the Unions," Political Quarterly, XXXI, No. 3 (July-September, 1960), pp. 324-332.
- "Daylight on the Struggle for the Labour Leadership," The Observer (London), February 17, 1963, p. 7.

- Deer, George. "Alive and Kicking", Transport and General Workers' Union Record, XL, (September, 1960), pp. 41-42.
- Dowse, R. E. "The Entry of the Liberals into the Labour Party, 1914-1920," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, XIII, No. 2, (November, 1961), pp. 78-87.
- Dowse, R. E. "The Parliamentary Labour Party in Opposition," Parliamentary Affairs, XIII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 520-29.
- Dunn, Peter. "T.U.C. Leaving Politics to Party," The Observer (London), May 19, 1963.
- Epstein, Leon. "Who Makes Party Policy: British Labour, 1960-61," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (1962), pp. 165-82.
- Epstein, Leon. "New M.P.s and the Politics of the PLP," Political Studies, X (June, 1962), pp. 121-29.
- "Exit Mr. Robins," The Economist, June 18, 1960, p. 1188.
- Feather, Victor. "Out in the Cold, Cold Snow," The Labour Organizer, XXXIII (July, 1954), pp. 123-124.
- "Fighting the Rules," The Observer (London), May 2, 1965, p. 40.
- Fox, Alan. "The Unions and Defense," Socialist Commentary, XXV (February, 1961), pp. 4-9.
- Gabbitas, Len. "Grooming for Parliament," The New Dawn, XVII (1963), p. 319.
- Greenwood, G. A. "Men, Women and Matters," The New Dawn, XVII (1963), pp. 503-504.
- Guttsman, W. L. "The Labour Rebels," The Manchester Guardian, April 14, 1955, p. 6.
- Hennessy, B. "Trade Unions and the British Labor Party," American Political Science Review, IL (1955), pp. 1050-1066.
- Hindell, Keith and Williams, P. "Scarborough and Blackpool: An Analysis of Some Labour Party Conferences of 1960 and 1961," Political Quarterly, XXXIII (July-September, 1962), pp. 306-320.
- "How to Get Chosen: An Elementary Guide to Becoming a Member of Parliament," The Economist, May 2, 1959, p. 405.

- Howard, A. "Choosing the Successor," The New Statesman, January 25, 1963, p. 102.
- Howard, A. "Parliament and the Unions," New Statesman, March 29, 1963, p. 446.
- Howard, A. "Trade Unions and Labour," Manchester Guardian, July 8, 1959, p. 6.
- Howe, Irving. "Hardy as a 'Modern' Novelist," The New Republic (June 26, 1965), pp. 19-22. (A review of a new edition of Thomas Hardy's Jude the Obscure.)
- Kaufman, Gerald. "Labour in Brighton," New Statesman (December 11, 1964), p. 910.
- "Labour," The Economist (October 29, 1960), pp. 431-432.
- "Labour," The Economist (December 17, 1960), pp. 1214-1215.
- "Labour and the Bomb," The Economist (June 13, 1959), pp. 998-999.
- "Labour's Way Out," The Economist (August 29, 1959), pp. 615-616.
- Lockhead, A. V. S. "The Use of Advisory Bodies by the Industrial Relations Department of the Ministry of Labour," in Vernon, R. V. and Monsergh, N. (Eds.), Advisory Bodies: A Study of Their Uses in Relation to Central Government, 1919-1939 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1940), pp. 282-308.
- "M. P.'s Support the Campaign," Campaign, No. 3 (March, 1961).
- Mallalieu, J. P. W. "The Trade Union M. P.," The New Statesman, November 28, 1959, p. 736.
- Mason, Ray. "I Speak for 100 Gagged Men," The People (London), November 22, 1959, p. 12.
- Mulley, F. W. "NATO's Nuclear Problems: Control on Consultation," Orbis, VIII, No. 1 (Spring 1964), pp. 21-35.
- McCann, Jack. "Beneath Big Ben," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXVII, No. 3 (March, 1960), p. 85.
- McCulloch, R. W. "Question Time in the British House of Commons," American Political Science Review, XXVII (1933), pp. 971-5.

- McGlashan, Colen. "Choosing a Candidate: Union Exams for Wouldbe M.P.'s," The Observer (London), April 25, 1965, p. 9.
- McKenzie, R. T. and Selner, A. "Conservatism, Industrialism and the Working Class Tory in England," Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology (September 2-8, 1962), Vol. III, pp. 191-202. (Washington: International Sociological Association, 1964).
- Nordlinger, Eric. "Leading From Behind?", New Society, May 21, 1964, p. 26.
- PEP. "The Structure and Organization of British Trade Union," Planning, XXIX, No. 477 (December 2, 1963), pp. 433-484.
- PEP. "Trade Union Membership," Planning, XXVIII, No. 463 (July 2, 1962), pp. 153-200.
- Pannell, Charles. "Twenty A.E.U.M.P.'s Next Time," Amalgamated Engineering Union Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (April, 1957), p. 107.
- "A Prayer in The House," The Land Worker, XLI (March, 1960), p. 4.
- Punnett, R. M. "The Labour Shadow Cabinet, 1955-64," Parliamentary Affairs, XVIII, No. 1 (Winter 1964-65), pp. 61-70.
- Rose, Richard. "Anatomy of British Political Factions," New Society, October 11, 1962, pp. 29-37.
- Sarbin, T. "Role Theory," In Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 223-58.
- Seligman, L. G. "Elite Recruitment and Political Development," Journal of Politics, XXVI (1964), pp. 612-626.
- Seligman, L. G. "Political Recruitment and Party Structure," American Political Science Review, LV (1961), pp. 77-86.
- Seligman, L. G. "Recruitment in Politics," PROD, I, No. 4 (1958), pp. 14-17.
- Selvin, David F. "Communication in Trade Unions: A Study of Union Journals," British Journal of Industrial Relations, I (1963), pp. 75-93.
- "Short and Harland Commons Lobby," Transport and General Workers' Union Record, IXLII (January, 1963), pp. 35-36.

"Socialism in the House of Commons," Edinburgh Review, CCIV (October, 1906), pp. 271-273.

Steck, Henry J. "The Re-emergence of Ideological Politics in Great Britain: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," The Western Political Quarterly, XVIII (1965), pp. 87-103.

Thomas, Peter D. G. "Check List of M. P.'s Speaking in the House of Commons, 178-1774," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXV, No. 92 (November, 1962), pp. 220-226.

Thompson, Lawrence. "Twenty Union Chiefs for Gaitskell," The Observer (London), October 30, 1960.

"The Tied Cottage," Land Worker, XLI (October, 1960), p. 7.

"W and Non-W," The Economist, November 7, 1959, pp. 496, 498.

Weatherly, W. J. "Backbencher," Guardian (London), March 15, 1963, p. 9.

Williams, A. L. "The Labour Party: Today and Tomorrow," Labour Organizer, XL (1961), pp. 110-113.

Williams, A. L. "Labour: Today and Tomorrow-2: Who Should Decide Policy?", Labour Organizer, XL (1961), pp. 125-27.

Williams, A. L. "Labour: Today and Tomorrow-3: Still be Workers' Champion," Labour Organizer, XL (1961), pp. 170-171.

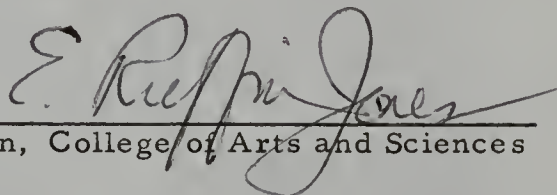
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

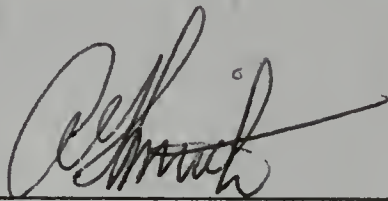
William Dale Muller was born October 11, 1938, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In June, 1956, he was graduated from Toronto High School, Toronto, Ohio. In June, 1960, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honor and with Honors in Government from Ohio University. In August, 1961, he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Illinois. In September, 1961, he enrolled in the Graduate School of the University of Florida to pursue work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

He is a member of the American Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association, and the American Association of University Professors.

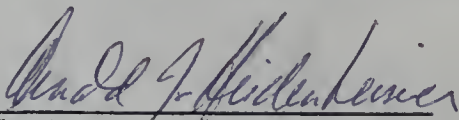
This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

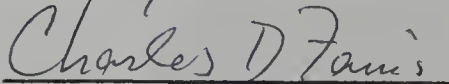
August 13, 1966

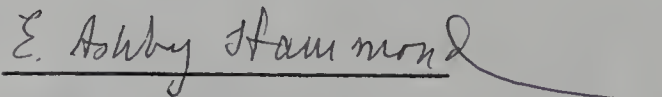

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences


Dean, Graduate School

Supervisory Committee:


Chairman





5

4417 B 30